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R F
Mayer

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XXIII.

OR VOL. XIV. OF THE MODERN PART.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE

AND

NAVARRE.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES, AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1805.

TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

THIS VOLUME

OF

MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF

HIGH CONSIDERATION AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT, AND

VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

CONTENTS

OF VOL. XXIII.

FRANCE.

Page

Chap. I.—*Parallel between the ancient Gauls and modern French—Expulsion of the Romans, and Establishment of the Franks in Gaul—The civil wars which ensued until the Establishment of the second Race of Kings—Cruelties exercised by two ambitious Females.* - - - - - - 1

Chap. II.—*Establishment of the Kings of the second Race, to the Extinction of the House of Charlemagne.* - - - - - - 51

Chap. III.—*Establishment of the third Race of French Sovereigns—Origin of the Crusades which were successively undertaken—Invasion of England by William of Normandy.* - - - - - - - 85

Chap. IV.—*Revolt of the Flemings—Defeat of the French in the memorable Battle of Crecy by Edward III. of England, and in that of Poitiers by Edward the Black Prince—They are again defeated at Agincourt by Henry V. of England.* - - 125

Chap. V.—*Civil wars between the Catholics and Protestants—The detestable Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Wars of the League.* 147

Page

Chap. VI.—*Wars between France and the Allied Powers—That ambitious Monarch Louis XIV. humbled by the glorious Campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough—The Mississippi Scheme contrived by Law—Wars between England and France.* - 205

Chap. VII.—*Events of the disastrous Reign of Louis XVI.—Origin and Progress of the Revolution up to the Murder of that unfortunate Monarch.* - - - - - 291

Chap. VIII.—*Events of the French Revolution from the Death of Louis XVI. to the Treaty of Amiens.* - - - - 315

NAVARRE.

History of Navarre. - - - - 353

THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Parallel between the ancient Gauls and modern French—Expulsion of the Romans, and establishment of the Franks in Gaul—The civil wars which ensued until the establishment of the second race of Kings—Cruelties exercised by two ambitious Females.

ROME had at length fallen. After having subjugated the universe, she had lost the art of governing herself. Tottering beneath the weight of her grandeur, her energies disappeared with her ancient virtues; and the glorious days of liberty, which had given birth to so many heroes, were succeeded by acts of a most atrocious despotism, which the conduct of her degraded citizens seemed to justify. The terror with which she had inspired the universe, she felt in her turn; her provinces were inundated by barbarians, by whom the cause of the Carthaginians and Greeks was avenged; and the Roman empire, exposed on all sides to their incursions, was on the eve of being dismembered, to serve as an example and a lesson,

if such a lesson can have a salutary effect, to the unbridled ambition of conquering nations.

Among these barbarians, named Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c. the French made a conspicuous figure. The earliest record of them with which we are furnished by history, represents them as a warlike race; and they were scarcely known to other nations, when they had obtained several victories in the territory of the Gauls. They had already learned to surmount calamities, by a courage superior to the vicissitudes of fortune. It required, however, the greatest exertions on their side to obtain an establishment in Gaul. They were desirous to form an independent state in a foreign land; and notwithstanding the feebleness of the Roman empire had exposed it for a long time to the incursions of the barbarians, the emperors were not without the means to oppose to them an effectual resistance. The Gauls, who were not yet sensible of the advantage of yielding to the French, whose government was infinitely milder than that of the other nations sprung from the forests of Germany, appeared to have an equal interest in preventing them from entering their territory. The fortitude, however, of the invaders, who were fond of encountering perils, was augmented by the obstacles by which their progress was impeded; and, being rendered more obstinate by their defeats, their leader, Clodion, at length passed the Rhine. Notwithstanding the force which Aëtius opposed to him, he took possession of Tournay, where he stationed his troops, and established the seat of his government.

History is in a manner silent as to the origin of these nations, by which Germany was anciently

inhabited, and which spread themselves over various parts of Europe, to form settlements. Without entering into any enquiry on this head, we shall endeavour to depict the primitive character of the native inhabitants, who leagued together in defence of their liberty, and who were at length incorporated in a single nation known by the name of the Franks.

The Gauls, or Celts, although blended with the latter, are the real ancestors of the modern French. This will be made apparent by a cursory view of their warlike character, and of their customs and habitudes. They were constantly armed; had a great propensity to duels; and, as if they had not a sufficient number of enemies to encounter, were unceasingly engaged in quarrels among themselves. Hurried away by their natural vivacity, as well as by the impulsion of vanity, they disdained all military discipline, and gave way to a blind impetuosity, without regarding the dangers to which they were exposed. They occasionally threw down their defensive weapons, and, confiding in the martial ardour with which they were inspired, fought naked. Their arms, like those of the wandering tribes of North America, were at first confined to the bow and arrows; but after they had been blended with those who had invaded their territory, they took up the buckler, the sword, and the battle-ax, which they denominated *francisque*.

The commentaries of Cæsar are replete with information relative to the customs, manners, character, government, and religion of the ancient Gauls. The reader is frequently surprised at the similitude he there finds between them and the

French of the present day. He is enabled to trace the same courage and the same levity—the same vivacity and the same effeminacy—the same rashness and the same inconstancy. Such is the influence of climate!

The wives and mothers of the Gauls, Tacitus observes, examined and sucked the wounds of their sons and husbands without repugnance. It was probably owing to the same habitual disposition, that, in the ages of chivalry, the married and single ladies disarmed the knights, and dressed their wounds, after having washed away the blood and dust with which they were covered.

Whether we consider the veneration which the Gauls entertained for the sex, and which was carried almost to idolatry; or their great propensity to gaming, in the pursuit of which they punctually discharged their debts of honour, while they neglected to liquidate almost all others; we find the resemblance still to hold good between them and the modern French.

In Gaul a chief was frequently selected from among the warriors, more particularly when the sovereign was old and infirm; and this usage is to be traced to the first race of French monarchs, when the mayors of the palace had the title of chiefs (dukes) of the French. In the election of their kings, the Gauls paid a particular attention to nobility; but in that of their chiefs, they had a greater regard to personal merit: in the same way the earliest kings and chiefs were elected in France; and both were expelled when they abused their authority, or conducted themselves in a manner derogatory of their rank, as happened to Childeric I. and Childeric III. With the Gauls

originated the ceremony of elevating on a *pavois* (a large shield) the newly elected monarch, to show him to the people. The guards who were attached to the person of the prince, whom in many cases they refused to survive, are to be traced in the palatines of the court of the kings of France. The monarch distributed a lot of land to each of them, according to his valour and services; and this usage resembles the military benefices conferred by the kings of France of the first race. Lastly, the Gaulic warriors formed a resolution to let their hair and beard grow until they should have killed an enemy; and from this custom originated the vow of the French knights, *not to sleep in a bed, eat off a table cloth, &c. until they should have brought to a conclusion some adventure or other.* In the Netherlands, towards the close of the sixteenth century, several warriors renewed the ancient engagement, not to cut their hair until they should have avenged the cause of Counts Horn and Egmont.

Although a warlike race, the Gauls trembled at the voice of the Druids, whose anathemas they dreaded above all things. From them they collected all their ideas relative to religion, and the faint knowledge they had of the sciences. These Druids not only performed the sacrifices at the altars, but instructed the youth, and held the office of judges. They embraced celibacy, and had their retreats and their temples in the forests; where, the better to inspire terror in all the ranks of the people, they offered up human sacrifices, an abominable practice which seems to have prevailed universally among barbarous nations.—

They, however, inculcated that precious dogma, the immortality of the soul.

In burying their dead, the Gauls interred with them their arms, which they valued beyond every other consideration, on account of their utility, both in attack and in defence. It should be observed that, in adopting the immortality of the soul, they supposed the deceased to carry with him his desires and his passions. This notion is likewise entertained by the savages of America.

The Gauls held in high veneration their bards, or poets, by whom they were constantly attended in the field, to chaunt their military atchievements, and to inspire them with a contempt for death. In this state they were when they were subdued by the Romans, who deprived them of their laws, customs, and usages, as if they had been desirous to annihilate the national spirit, which appeared to be more indestructible in them than in the inhabitants of the neighbouring territories. They frequently revolted; but their struggles to shake off the yoke of their new masters were ineffectual.

Christianity next succeeded, and was soon followed by theological disputations. The transition from paganism was so rapid, that heresies were proclaimed before the government had attained any degree of consistency. Arianism had its partizans and its adversaries: the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was established; the Druids expelled; and the papal authority over the Gallican church consolidated. Before, however, we follow that particular point of ecclesiastical history, which treats of the incredible progress of christianity in the

reign of Constantine; before we speak of the prelates of the Gauls; of the council of Arles; of the spiritual power of the bishops who were canonized after their death; and of the singular contrast which was produced by a mixture of the sacred and the prophane, in the religious ceremonies; let us take a short review of the kings, or rather of the warlike chiefs by whom Clovis was preceded.

It has already been observed that the Franks are considered as having been originally a nation of Germany. In the ancient teutonic language, *franc* signifies free; and, accordingly, that name appears to have been bestowed on them as a distinctive mark of their love of liberty. By the nation of Franks is to be understood a league of Germanic nations, confederated to form a kind of Republic, such as Switzerland is at this time.—The latter being composed of thirteen different cantons, or states, forms the helvetic confederation, or, in other words, the Swiss nation. In the same way the Frank nation appears to have been composed of *Salii*, *Sicambri*, *Attuarii*, *Bructeri*, *Camani*, *Batavi*, *Sarmatæ*, *Suivi*, *Ansibarii*, *Cattæ*, *Caulci*, and *Frisii*, all of them comprehended under the generic names of Celts, Germans, and, lastly, of Franks. If this nation was not originally, and aboriginally, German, it is at least certain that, after a long stay in that country, where it had become naturalised, it had adopted both the spirit of the other inhabitants, and the form of their government. It is likewise certain that as soon as the Franks were known in Germany by the title of the league, they were pre-eminently distinguished; and that, by their in-

cursions into Gaul, they gave infinite trouble to the Roman emperors.

Having been expelled from thence by the emperor Aurelian, somewhere about the year 270 of the christian era, a ballad was sung throughout the empire, with the following burden: "A thousand French and a thousand Sarmatians, have been killed in two encounters."* In a public spectacle, Gallienus afterwards exhibited, to gratify the curiosity of the Romans, three hundred French prisoners. These facts prove that they were a warlike race, who had rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies.

The following fact is still more singular and noticeable: In the year 258, under Valerian, a body of Franks crossed the whole of the territory of Gaul, and having forced a passage into Spain, converted Tarragona into a strong hold, from whence they sallied, and pillaged Spain during twelve years. A detachment even penetrated into Africa; when at length these fortunate adventurers, after having effected a junction, traversed every part of Gaul with impunity, returning to their own country laden with booty. It is not surprising that a few prisoners, belonging to such a nation, should be publicly exhibited with a degree of exultation.

The Franks were in a great measure in possession of Gaul, until the year 279, when they were driven from thence by Probus, who pursued them into their own territory, on the other side of the

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* Mille Francos et mille Sarmatas semel et semel occidimus.

Rhine. It is recorded in history, that, at a subsequent period, a Frenchman, Magnentius, placed himself, by the dint of his courage, at the head of the Roman empire. His countrymen constituted the most effective force of his armies. Another Frenchman, Sylvanus, was compelled by the injustice of Constantius, to whom he had rendered, in quality of general, very essential services, to declare himself emperor. He fell, however, by the treachery of Ursicinius, who, on pretext of affording him his friendly aid, found means to assassinate him.

The Germans and Franks were defeated by Julianus, who united to an equal degree of valour, a greater share of prudence and capacity than they possessed. The same talents, notwithstanding he could not boast of so much heroism, gave Valentinianus a decided advantage over the above nations, among whom he brought about a disunion. Stilico kept up a successful check on the enemies of the empire in his western government, and prevented the Franks from passing the Rhine. Honorius, his son-in-law, having caused this valiant general to be put to death, was punished for this crime by Alaricus, king of the Goths, who sacked Rome in the year 410.

The Gauls had for a long time been a prey to a variety of barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into their territory from Germany and Scythia. The Alans, Suivi, Gepids, and Vandals, came next in succession to the Franks, Germans, Burgundians, and Goths. The Franks, who had hitherto been satisfied with making incursions into Gaul, finding at length that territory insufficient to supply their wants, which became yearly more and more importunate, began to

think seriously of taking up their settled abode among the native inhabitants. Being thus forced to become cultivators themselves, it was natural that they should prefer so fine a country to the morasses, deserts, and forests of Germany.

There is a secret instinct which urges the inhabitants of the northern climes to attack those who dwell in the south. It has been accordingly observed, that conquests have been invariably made from the north to the south. When this movement is observed; and when we see that the Goths, Vandals, Swedes, and Tartars, have never retrograded towards the north, and have been successful in the south only; when we see the Germans, expelled from their own country, pillage and ransack the seat of the Roman government, we look with surprise, and expect that the whole of the south will one day be a prey to bands of northern invaders.

It was unquestionably by this impulsion, and not by any other motive, that Pharamond crossed the Rhine somewhere about the year 420, with a fixed plan of establishing in Gaul the empire of the Franks. At that time a defensive war, which requires a deeper skill than is necessitated by offensive operations, was unknown; and the result was, as may easily be conceived, that the Gauls opposed but a feeble barrier and resistance. Their country was soon substantially occupied by the invaders.

Having thus detailed the establishment of the Franks in Gaul, we proceed to a slight mention of the predecessors of Clovis, who are, indeed, scarcely known, unless by name. We are, however, told of the coronation of Pharamond, who was car-

fied on the *pavois*, in martial pomp, by his brother soldiers, to denote that they had the first rank in his estimation. Meroveus is said to have established a domination, which, although in its infant state, was equally dreaded by the Gauls and Romans. Childeric was dethroned in consequence of his having violated the chastity of several women; but was more fortunate than Tarquin, who had been guilty of the same odious crime. He was restored a few years after.

In this warlike race of kings, not a legislator was to be met with. This circumstance forms a striking contrast between them and the founders of Rome. Romulus enacted several wise laws; and Numa Pompilius established a salutary police, which in a manner stamped a character on his subjects, while it reformed their morals. But the predecessors of Clovis had not any notion of the science of government: they, as well as their adherents, unquestionably wished to preserve, in the territory of the Gauls, the manners they had acquired in Germany. Victory, which had been hitherto faithful to their standards, had sanctioned their warlike prejudices; and they were persuaded that they could not, with impunity, interfere with the police. A nation of soldiers, in constant readiness to repair to the field of battle, is not to be governed like an assemblage of citizens, engaged in commerce, and in the culture of the arts. The latter are under constant apprehensions for their property, in the defence of which they are but little skilled.

The conquests of the Romans were preceded by the establishment of their police; but in the case of the French this order was reversed. The

latter were accordingly exposed to ten thousand vicissitudes of fortune, by which every progress of society was impeded. In addition to this, their levity, and the natural vivacity of their character, rendered them too hasty in their enterprises, to enable them to form any determined plan of conduct. In this state they were, when Clovis, the real founder of the French monarchy, produced, by the dint of his arms, and without his subjects being sensible of it, a part of the effects which would have resulted from a wise legislation. He divined, as it were by instinct, the warlike stamp of the people he governed; and to this ardent spirit he gave a skilful direction. He multiplied the national resources by a variety of expedients; and, unenlightened as his government was, had a decided superiority over all the enemies of the rising empire. The French, who had hitherto been untractable, and had led an uncertain and wandering life, became settled, and obedient to the laws. What these laws were will be seen in the sequel.

At the age of fifteen years Clovis succeeded to his father Childeric. He was not long in freeing his country from a formidable domination, and in putting an end to the empire of the Romans in Gaul. He defeated Syagrius, the Roman general, who had established his residence at Soissons. His vanquished enemy fled to Thoulouse, where he placed himself under the protection of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, by whom he was afterwards delivered up. Clovis amused him for some time by false promises of enlargement; and having, by this stratagem, facilitated several of his conquests, had him at length

A. D. 486.

decapitated privately. The power of the Romans having been thus annihilated, the French found themselves masters of all the provinces situated between the Rhine and the Loire.

At the period of the above victory, a system of equality was established among the French soldiery, which it became necessary to subvert, to secure the as yet unsettled authority of the monarch. An opportunity soon presented itself to effect this. The troops were about to proceed to a division of the booty, for which, according to the immemorial usage of the Franks, they were to draw lots. Clovis, who was to have no other than the share of a general, directed his attention to a precious vase, which he was anxious to possess, and which he accordingly pointed out with his hand. "Hold," exclaimed one of the soldiers, with his battle-ax raised, "thou shalt have no other than the share which may fall to thy lot."—As sovereign, Clovis dared neither to reply nor to punish; but, in quality of general, he shortly after took occasion to tax the refractory soldier with a want of subordination, of which he was guilty at the moment, and, telling him to recollect the *vase of Soissons*, with one blow severed his head from his body. This act of royalty inspired the soldiery with awe and respect for their chief, at the same time that it established a boundary between him and them, which was essential to his authority.

Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, who had murdered his own brother, to usurp the sovereign authority, had a niece, the daughter of the defunct monarch, whose virtues and personal accomplishments had procured her a celebrity, equal to the pity her misfortunes had inspired. Clovis, either captivated by her charms, or, which is more pro-

bable, having a view to an advantageous alliance, sought and obtained her in marriage. This lady, who was a zealous christian, employed her best endeavours to persuade her lord to abjure the errors of paganism, and to embrace christianity. If she could not prevail in the first instance, it will be seen that she was eventually successful, notwithstanding she had new and unforeseen difficulties to encounter. The loss of his eldest son, who died immediately after he had been baptised, augmented the repugnance of Clovis to the christian doctrines; and this event was succeeded by the death of a second son, who had also been recently carried to the baptismal font. The Gauls, whose attachment to christianity was but of a short date, trembled lest the king of the Franks should remain an idolater, and thus prevent the conversion of his people.

What, however, is not to be accomplished by a persistance in a holy zeal, more especially when its pious sentiments are conveyed by a lovely female, who, not content with ensuring the earthly happiness of her husband, has a view also to his eternal felicity! The Germans, a numerous and powerful nation, made a sudden irruption in the vicinity of Cologn, and, having laid waste that part of the territory, crossed the Rhine. Sigebert demanded the aid of Clovis, to make head against a common enemy, by whom their states were threatened. The two sovereigns having united their forces, attacked the Germans in the plains of Tolbiac, distant from Cologn about ten leagues. The troops of Clovis having retreated in the onset of the battle, he had recourse to the God of his consort, whom she had so frequently named to

him, and offered up the following prayer.—"God "of the queen Clotilda, thou who art called the "son of the living God, and who givest succour "and victory to those who call on thee, I invoke "thy aid! If thou permittest me to conquer, I "shall believe in thee, and shall consent to be "baptised. In vain have I implored my own "gods, who do not afford me help: succour me, "and I will adore thee."

The prayer of Clovis was heard; his enemies were defeated; and he was shortly after baptised by St. Remi, bishop of Reims. History relates that so great a croud was assembled round the baptismal font, as to prevent the approach of the priest to whom the *chrism*, or holy ointment, was entrusted. St. Remi, to the end that his august convert should not be deprived of the efficacy of grace, offered up a short and fervent prayer. Instantly a dove appeared, white as snow, and carrying in its beak the holy phial, filled with a sacred oil, the rich perfume of which delighted all the by-standers. With this miraculous oil the saint anointed his sovereign; and in the evening, to render the day memorable, in the festivals both of church and state, brought a dead man to life. Such were the juggles of priestcraft in these early times; and by such stratagems has the catholic church constantly maintained its ascendency in spiritual and temporal affairs!

Clovis was the only catholic king to be found in the empires of the east and west: all the others were either idolaters or arians. Upwards of three thousand Franks were baptised at the same time with their sovereign; and by degrees all his subjects, of his own nation, were converted to chris-

tianity. In the mean time the priests, to secure their authority, had recourse to every description of stratagem: they contrived so well, that the sacred banner, embroidered with *fleurs-de-lis*, descended from heaven, and was delivered by an angel into the hands of the monarch, together with the *oriflamb*, a sure pledge of victory.

It did not desert this new standard. Clovis, who meditated the most extensive plans, was desirous to unite under his domination the kingdoms of the Burgundians and Visigoths, or, in other words, to possess all the territory which extends from Langres to Geneva, and from the Pyrenees to the banks of the Loire. He waged a successful war against his wife's uncle, Gondebaud, from whom he exacted a heavy tribute. On pretence that Alaric, whose dominions he had long coveted, was guilty of heresy, he attacked him with a very powerful force, and gained, by one battle, the object of his desires. Alaric, a brave, generous, and beloved monarch, was slain by the hand of his cruel and ambitious enemy, whose inordinate lust of conquests knew no bounds. His career was, however, checked by his brother-in-law, Theodoric, king of the Astrogoths, who defeated him at Arles, and thus rescued the Gothic nation from the danger of being completely extirpated.

Clovis, rendered desperate by this miscarriage, fell on all that he encountered in his retreat; insomuch that it might have been said he had formed a resolution to accomplish the destruction of each of his ancient allies and friends, and thus secure to himself an universal domination in the territory of the Gauls. To facilitate his

ambitious projects, he prevailed on Clodoric to assassinate his own father, Sigebert; and afterwards had the parricide put to death, that he might meet with fewer obstacles in invading his territory. Having taken by surprise a chief of one of the little states, by which his own dominions were surrounded, without seeking a plausible pretext, he caused his head and beard to be shaved, merely because he had the title of king, which he wished to belong exclusively to himself. Such was anciently the mode of declaring a prince incapable of wearing the crown, and the above is the first example of this custom which history records. The son of the insulted chief, who saw his father overwhelmed with grief, having observed to him, in the way of consolation, *that the branches would one day shoot out again, seeing that the trunk had not been divided*, Clovis was so hurt at this metaphor, that he ordered both the father and the son to be decapitated. He was surrounded by traitors, to back his perfidious designs, whom he abandoned, and sometimes punished, after he had rendered them the instruments of his cruelties. Recanaire, king of Cambray, having been delivered up to him, those by whom he was betrayed complained that, instead of gold, they had been paid in a base coin of gilt copper. To this Clovis replied with an angry look; "I have no other money to bestow on such miscreants."

After having extended his conquests from the mouth of the Rhine to Thoulouse, Clovis took up his residence in Paris, which became the seat of his empire. He now founded several monasteries, and built a considerable number of churches, at

the instigation of his clergy, and in expiation of his crimes and usurpations, which were so truly contrary to the spirit of the religion he professed. He died at the age of forty-five years, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is now called Sainte Genevieve, in honour of the patroness of Paris, whose remains had been interred there a month before.

Clovis was author of the Salic law. This law excluded, so far as the Salic lands were concerned, the wife from any share of the inheritance, which became exclusively the property of the male descendants. It likewise gave rise to the exclusion of females, from the succession to the throne of France; but this was contrary both to its letter and its spirit. It referred, in the first instance, to the Salic lands only, that is, to the lands held according to the custom of the Salians, a particular nation of Franks, whose important services Clovis had remunerated by a grant of large tracts of territory. He was desirous that these possessions should be held in perpetuity by the male offspring of the soldiery, whose heroism had gained him so many victories, to the end that the son should, keeping in view the honourable inheritance which had fallen to him, rival the father in his honourable exploits.

Clovis left four sons, who divided between them the states their father had conquered. The eastern provinces fell to the lot of Thierry, an illegitimate son, who had the title of king of Metz. Clodomir, the eldest surviving male offspring by Clotilda, was proclaimed king of Orleans; and two infants, Childebert and Clotaire, were de-

clared, the former king of Paris, and the latter king of Soissons, under the regency of the mother. Tranquillity prevailed for some time, until at length the dowager queen prevailed on her children to declare war against Sigismond, the son of her deceased uncle, Gondebaud. She had not forgotten the violent death of her father, and was desirous to avenge it on the son of the murderer. Clodomir invaded the territories of Sigismond, whom he slew with his own hands. The latter, to escape the death which awaited him, had cut off his hair, and disguised himself as a hermit. His wife and children were afterwards, by order of Clodomir, murdered in prison. A few days after, this sanguinary despot fell himself into an ambush laid for him by the partizans of the deceased monarch, who, not content with putting him to death, paraded his head, in front of the armies, on the end of a lance.

Notwithstanding Clodomir left three sons, his brothers took possession of his dominions, on pretext of the necessity of having the young princes under their tutelage. The infants were brought to Paris, as if to be crowned; but were suddenly arrested and put into prison. Clotilda implored her sons to spare her grand-children, and received for answer the emblems of a pair of scissors and a drawn sword, to denote that perpetual imprisonment awaited them, instead of a crown. In her grief, she was heard to say that she should prefer their death to the disgrace of seeing their hair cut off, by which their incapacity for reigning was to be implied. This was the signal for their butchery. Clotaire plunged his poniard into the heart of the eldest, aged ten years. The second,

aged eight years only, embraced the knees of his uncle Childebert, who conjured Clotaire to spare him, but in vain. The youngest child was saved, and was concealed in a monastery, to shelter him from the fury of his savage relative, whose vengeance was not satisfied until he had put to death all the domestics who had attended on the young princes. The one who escaped became a priest, and gave his name to the village of St. Cloud, near Paris.

Thierry, who had been a tranquil spectator of the murder of his nephews, was soon reconciled to his brothers. As it was the favourite maxim of this detestable family, that, not to possess every thing, was to be masters of nothing, they leagued together, and made the conquest of Burgundy.

Their next attempt was the invasion of Spain, which ended in their defeat by the Visigoths. They were afterwards forced to make a treaty with Justinian and the Ostrogoths; but this treaty they soon violated.

The death of Thierry, and that of Childebert, together with the sudden extinction of the posterity of the former, occasioned all the parts of the monarchy to devolve to the ferocious assassin Clotaire, who was not, however, peaceable in the enjoyment of his newly acquired dominions. One of his sons rebelled, and was pardoned; but, on his taking up arms a second time, he was vanquished by his father, who caused him to be burned, with his whole family, in a cottage to which he had fled for shelter. Clotaire
A. D. 361. died on the following year. We now proceed to his male surviving offspring.

They were four in number. The kingdom of

Paris fell to the lot of the eldest, Caribert. To the second, Gontrand, that of Orleans was assigned. The kingdom of Metz was bestowed on Sigebert; and Chilperic, the youngest son, received Soissons in partition. These distributions of territory laid the foundation of new intestine quarrels, which the common possession of Provence and Aquitaine, by the four princes, tended to inflame. Chilperic, the most restless and most enterprising, began by a fruitless attempt to gain possession of Paris, and to dethrone his eldest brother. Perceiving afterwards that Sigebert was employed in repelling an invasion of the Huns, he attacked his territories, and obtained possession of Reims, and of several places in its vicinity. Sigebert, on receiving this intelligence, crossed the Rhine; and, notwithstanding he had an enemy to encounter, both in his front and in his rear, recaptured Reims and the other cities which had been wrested from him. By the mediation of the other brothers, peace was made between him and Chilperic. It redounds greatly to the honour of Sigebert, that he was not only able to repel the unjust aggressions of his ambitious brother, but to defeat the Huns established on the banks of the Danube, a warlike nation whom it was not easy to subdue. These people were not only valiant, trained to war, and inured to its hardships; but their gigantic bulk, their hideous features, their wan and stern aspect, and, more especially, the terrible shrieks they uttered at the onset of a battle, were well calculated to inspire terror. It required no small skill and abilities to oppose these fierce barbarians, by whom Europe had before been laid waste.

On the death of Caribert, a new partition of territory laid the foundation for new discords and jealousies. Each of the surviving brothers was desirous that the city of Paris should be comprehended in his portion; and after much contention, it was stipulated that each should have a third *of the* capital, which he was not, however, to enter without the consent of the others. The maledictions of all the saints in heaven were to fall on the head of him who should dare to infringe this treaty, to the strict observance of which the *princes* bound themselves by oath, each laying his hand on the hilt of his sword.

Two females, whose crimes had bestowed on them a kind of celebrity, now figured on the political scene. Brunehaut, the wife of Sigebert, was descended from the royal blood of the Goths; but Fredegonde owed her elevation to the throne to the love of Chilperic, who felt a secret passion for her shortly after his marriage with Audovere. She was the daughter of a peasant of Picardy, and united to a rare beauty all the resources which cunning and dissimulation could supply. Her intrigues were so well managed that she soon brought about a divorce between Chilperic and Audovere, who sought a refuge from her misfortunes in a convent. This artifice was not, however, useful to Fredegonde, its contriver. The king married Galsuinde, the elder sister of Brunehaut, to gratify his subjects by an alliance which had, in their estimation, done honour to his brother Sigebert. Fredegonde dissembled for the moment; but, having become by degrees, not only the confident of her royal lover, but his minister even, prevailed on him to rid himself of

Galsuinde, which he effected by strangling her in the night time with his own hands. This crime was soon followed by his marriage with Fredegonde, which was publicly celebrated, in despight of the general clamours and execrations of his subjects.

Brunehaut implored her husband, Sigebert, as well as Gontrand, to avenge this foul murder. The latter brought his troops into the field; but shortly after went over to the side of Chilperic, who was, notwithstanding, so vigorously pursued by Sigebert, that he was obliged to seek shelter in the fortified town of Tournay. As nothing less than the death of Chilperic could gratify the deep revenge of Brunehaut, a close siege was laid to the place; when, in an instant, Fredegonde changed the scene. She caused Sigebert to be taken off by two assassins; the siege was raised; and Chilperic victoriously entered the camp of his deceased brother, in which he found his widowed queen, children, and treasures. The infant son, aged only five years, was, however, privately conveyed out of the camp by a faithful domestic, and having been conducted to Metz, was proclaimed king of Austrasia.

The widow of Sigebert, who was still young, was sent prisoner to Rouen, where she captivated the heart of a prince named Merovée, whom she espoused. This prince was no other than her own nephew (for in those days such marriages were lawful,) the son of her mortal enemy, Chilperic, whose rage and astonishment on hearing the news may be readily conceived. To avoid the storm which hung over their heads, the newly married couple sought the sanctuary of a church,

which the troops of Chilperic dared not violate. Merovée having received his pardon, returned to his father's protection; and Brunehaut fled to Austrasia, where she was instigated, by her implacable hatred of Fredegonde, to rekindle the flames of war. Chilperic having lost a battle soon after, ascribed the defeat of his troops to Merovée, whose hair he ordered to be cut off, to deprive him of the succession. The son being thus disgraced, to avoid the further vengeance of his father, fled to Tours, where Fredegonde caused him to be assassinated. Her cruelties did not end here: the bishop of Rouen, who had celebrated the marriage between Merovée and Brunehaut, was her next victim; and, as this murder was not effected without the knowledge of one of the courtiers, she had him taken off by poison. An obstacle which presented itself to her ambition was to be removed. She had three sons, on the head of one of whom she wished the crown to be placed, on the death of Chilperic; but a prince named Clovis, by the first marriage, and brother to the deceased Merovée, was still living. While she was busied in plotting his destruction, a heavy calamity awaited her own progeny: her sons fell victims to a pestilential fever. Such was her habitual wickedness, that she availed herself of this misfortune to gratify her hatred and revenge. She suborned one of her favourites to accuse Clovis of having had poison administered to the princes; and on this accusation he was put to death, together with the unfortunate queen Audovere, who, notwithstanding she was immured in the cloisters, and had been long ignorant of what was passing in the world, was represented

by the monster Fredegonde as an accomplice in the crime.

It has been already noticed that, at the time of the partition, neither of the three monarchs was to enter Paris, without the consent of his brothers. This treaty was, however, infringed by Chilperic, who was desirous to be present at the baptism of an infant son by Fredegonde. While Gontrand, aided by Childebert, king of Austrasia, the prince, who on the death of his father, Sigebert, had been conveyed in safety from the camp, was busied in making every preparation to punish so gross a violation of a solemn engagement, the tyrant Chilperic was assassinated. This crime was also due to Fredegonde, whose adulterous intercourse with an attendant at the court, named Landry, had been accidentally discovered by the deceased. Thus was one crime heaped on another by this atrocious female. The assassination of her husband having been closely followed by a war in his dominions, she implored the aid of Gontrand, observing that the treasures of the deceased monarch had been unlawfully conveyed to Childebert, king of Austrasia, and imploring him to take pity on a fatherless infant, aged only four months. Gontrand, having been gained over by these artifices, put himself at the head of a powerful army, which Childebert, instigated by Brunehaut, prepared to meet. Thus did two women, who vied with each other in cruelties, arm two sovereigns, the uncle and the nephew, against each other. In the mean time Gontrand took the infant Clotaire under his protection, established a council of regency, caused the oaths of allegiance to be administered, and had be-

sides recourse to such measures, that Childebert was induced to withdraw his forces. Fredegonde was excluded from every share in the administration, and forced into a convent, with a strict prohibition not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the government.

This ambitious female, enraged at being dispossessed of the authority for which she so ardently longed, resorted to every possible artifice to excite a popular insurrection against the benefactor of her child. In return for this base ingratitude, Gontrand affirmed that he had a secret to reveal, which through a mistaken tenderness for her, he had hitherto concealed, namely, that Clotaire was not in reality the son of Chilperic. Fredegonde, who was not displeased at this question being started, as it enabled her to resume, for an instant, the pomp and splendour of her ancient authority, quitted her convent; complained, in her different qualities of queen and mother, of the affront which was offered her; and having demanded that an oath should be solemnly administered to her, swore to the legitimacy of the prince in the midst of an assemblage of all the orders of the people. Three hundred witnesses were brought forward to swear to the same effect and purport, and, what must appear very singular at this time, their corroborative testimonies were received as so many decisive proofs. Thus was Gontrand reduced to silence.

His next effort was to maintain an equipoise between Brunehaut and Fredegonde, whose hatred to each other was more implacable than ever; and to prevent them, as much as possible, from having any share in public affairs. He had

now attained the advanced age of sixty years; and dreaded lest, on his demise, they should sow the seeds of discord between his two nephews, Childebert and Clotaire. He had not any male issue; and Brunehaut flattered him so adroitly, that he made a will, by which his own dominions were to revert to her two grandsons. This testament was never carried into effect; but, on the other hand, it will be seen that Clotaire, the second of the name, whose misfortune it was to have sprung from the womb of Fredegonde, was destined to unite under his domination all the separate states of the house of Clovis. This event was hastened by the death of Gontrand, which was no sooner promulgated, than the two queens, freed from every restraint, displayed all the ferocity of their nature. On each side dark assassinations were prepared, until at length an open warfare broke out. Childebert proceeded to take possession of the dominions of Gontrand, in right of his grand-children, and in conformity to the will of the deceased. He considered that it would be easy to get the better of any opposition on the part of Clotaire; but in this he was mistaken. Fredegonde appeared at the head of an army, with her son, aged ten years, whom she held in her arms, exclaiming to the soldiery, with that maternal and heroic eloquence which never fails in its effect: *behold my son; behold your king.* Her army was commanded by her favourite Landry, who has been already cited. At his side she fought, and took with him an equal share in the command of the troops. The field was obstinately disputed; but at length victory declared itself in favour of the mother of Clotaire.

The vanquished Brunehaut had recourse to all the stratagems which policy could suggest. She solicited help in all quarters; and reinforced her own levies by chosen bands of mercenaries. She was, notwithstanding, obliged to yield to the victorious arms of her rival, whose troops were, in point of numbers, far inferior to her own. The death of her son Childebert was a fresh calamity calculated to raise the expectations of Fredegonde, who pursued her victorious career, and inspired a general enthusiasm which seemed to have effaced the remembrance of all her crimes. A new conquest opened to her the gates of Paris, where her son was proclaimed amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. Chance, however, by which all human events are governed, suddenly changed the complexion of affairs. Fredegonde died while she was on the eve of reaping the fruits of her gallant achievements, and Brunehaut was thus freed from her redoubtable enemy. She flattered herself that, in her quality of regent and guardian to the princes her grandsons, she should speedily be mistress of all France. The elder, Thierry, was king of Burgundy; and Theodobert, the younger, king of Austrasia. She resided at the court of the latter, where her conduct became by degrees so haughty and despotic, as to give great offence to the grandees. The better to preserve her own power and ascendancy, she studiously neglected the education of her royal ward, whose morals and principles she took the utmost pains to debauch. She promoted a marriage between him and an obscure female, one of her attendants, whose low origin did not prevent her from becoming a great favourite with

the court. The result was, that the queen dowager fell into her own snare; the interest of the nobles prevailed, and she was exiled by the artifices of the female whom she had endeavoured to render the instrument of her protracted domination. She retired to the court of Thierry, who gave her a welcome reception.

The two brothers were at this time engaged in carrying on a successful war against the wretched son of Fredegonde, Clotaire, whom they defeated and despoiled of a part of his territories. The latter possessed neither the courage nor the resources of his mother; but he had the good sense to command his resentment, and to affect a philosophy by which he appeared superior to the reverses of fortune. His rivals were thus lulled into a security which was eventually fatal to them; and chance supplied, in the case of Clotaire, the defect of courage and enterprize.

At the court of Thierry, Brunehaut fixed her attention on a young nobleman, Protade, whose unbounded ambition, and ferocity of character, were commensurate with her own. This man was, by her influence, elevated to the rank of mayor, or governor of the palace; a post which began insensibly to acquire such a degree of force and dignity, as to be afterwards enabled to overturn the legitimate throne, and to establish a new one on its ruins. The next endeavour of Brunehaut was to excite a war between the two monarchs, her grandsons; for which purpose she persuaded Thierry, that Theodobert was not the son of king Childebert, but of an obscure gardener, by whom his place had been supplied in the affections of his queen. The two sovereigns

took the field; but, on the side of Thierry, the dukes and counts insisted on being mediators in this unnatural contest, set on foot to gratify the ambition of a minister, who acted under the influence of a haughty female. While the king wavered in his purposes, the grandees proceeded to open revolt, and seized on the person of Protade, who was assassinated in his tent.

The peace which ensued between the two royal brothers was but of a short duration. They again took up arms, and again had recourse to conferences for peace. Theodobert having drawn his brother into a snare, and endeavoured to oblige him to sign a convention in his favour, the Burgundian grandees, who had, as has been before observed, revolted, agreed that justice was on the side of the latter, and came forward to his aid with all their united forces. In the interim, Clotaire, who had engaged to remain neuter, waited the issue of the contest, to recover the territory of which he had been dispossessed. Theodobert was twice defeated, and at length made prisoner. Having been brought before Thierry, he was stripped of the insignia of royalty, and, after two of his sons had been put to death by his merciless brother, was sent captive to Brunehaut. This was the harshest sentence which could have been pronounced against him; since, after he had been degraded by the loss of his hair, and condemned to the solitary confinement of a monastery, the apprehension of his escaping from thence was held by Brunehaut to be a sufficient motive for the assassination she commanded. He perished in his twenty-seventh year.

Clotaire, king of Soissons, aware that the vic-

tory of Thierry, and the new power he had acquired, were not calculated to secure to him the advantages he had reaped from his treaty of neutrality, hastened to take possession of what had been ceded to him. The event proved that he had not mistaken the policy of Thierry, who sent heralds to summon him to withdraw his troops. On his refusal, the latter, who was so much elated with his conquests, as to flatter himself that he should soon be master of the whole of the French territory, advanced with a powerful army; but, in passing through Metz, was attacked by a dysentery, which carried him off, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. A suspicion was entertained that he was poisoned by Brunehaut, whose desire to preserve her own authority had instigated her to the commission of this crime. She caused the eldest of his four sons, Sigebert, to be proclaimed king; and, following the example of Fredegonde, whose conduct she wished to imitate in every respect, prepared to govern the two kingdoms with a despotic sway. Clotaire, however, was careful to anticipate her project, the execution of which he opposed by a formidable army. Brunehaut contributed to her own defeat: her suspicions having fallen on the mayor of the palace of Austrasia, she ordered him to be put to death; but so little secrecy was observed on this occasion, that he was duly apprized of the plot meditated against his life, and, availing himself of his high authority, prevailed on the nobility both of Austrasia and Burgundy to abandon the cause of Brunehaut, which they did on the approach of the army of Clotaire. The lat-

ter obtained an easy victory, which was followed, in conformity to the savage custom of the times, by the butchery of two of the infant sons of Thierry; another was sentenced to have his head shaved; and the fourth disappeared, never again to present himself on the political scene. Brunehaut was next delivered up to his vengeance. Such had been the multiplicity of her crimes and atrocities, that their punishment was invoked by all ranks of the people. This execrable woman, herself a queen, and the daughter, sister, aunt, wife, mother, grand-mother, and great-grand-mother of kings, was, at the advanced age of eighty years, brought before Clotaire, who presided at the tribunal as her supreme judge. She was sentenced to tortures which lasted for three days. On the first day she was led throughout the camp, exposed to the insults of the soldiery, with whose execrations the air was filled: on the second, a ferocious and irritated multitude inflicted on her ignominious punishments of every description, which she with difficulty survived: on the third, she was fastened by the hair, by a foot, and by an arm, to the tail of a wild and unmanageable horse, and was thus dragged across the flints, and through the briars, until she expired in the midst of the plain, which was covered by her blood. Her tomb is still to be seen in the abbey of St. Martin-les-Autun, which she founded. It was opened in 1632, and, amid the ashes and bones, was found the rowel of a spur, in confirmation of the general tradition; for it should be observed that, in those days, it was customary, when any one was attached to the tail of a

horse, to fasten spurs to the feet of the victim, to the end that the animal might be rendered more ferocious.

Thus it was that Clotaire, the second of the name, who, like his ancestor, Clotaire I. had no other inheritance than the insignificant kingdom of Soissons, became sovereign ruler of the French monarchy. He appointed a mayor of the palace, whose office resembled that of a viceroy, to preside over each of the three kingdoms which had reverted to him, without entertaining any mistrust of the high authority he thus delegated. If his reign was not so brilliant as some others, it was peaceable, and marked by a wise and beneficent administration. He instituted a kind of ambulatory court of justice, which went from place to place, to redress the grievances of those who were oppressed. The sittings of these moving parliaments were named *placita*, from whence has originated the English law term of *pleas*. As a proof that they administered justice with an impartial hand, and without any regard to the rank of the accused party, a governor of a part of Burgundy, convicted of a conspiracy against Clotaire, was sentenced to die, and executed without any interposition of the royal authority. This example made so powerful an impression, that conspiracies were no longer heard of during the reign of Clovis. The celebrated ordonnances, denominated *capitulaires*, which had so lasting an influence on the legislation of France, resulted from the deliberations of a council established in Paris, partly composed of the nobility, and partly of the bishops. Awards were there given, in civil cases, by a majority of votes;

and these questions had a preference over those which were purely ecclesiastical.

What was not to have been expected from the son of Fredegonde, Clotaire, instead of exercising an arbitrary authority, displayed much moderation in the administration of public affairs. He remitted to the Lombards a portion of the annual tribute they had paid to his predecessors; and constantly manifested a desire to comply with the wishes of the neighbouring princes. He invested with the regal authority his son, Dagobert, whom he sent to reside at Metz, with the title of king of Austrasia. As soon as the latter was marriageable, he confided to him a part of his government, to the end that he might know how to reign at his demise. The young prince having imperiously demanded certain parts of the territory of Austrasia, which the father had thought proper to detach from that kingdom, Clotaire gave a singular example of moderation and paternal tenderness. He submitted the question to the arbitration of twelve lords and bishops, who reconciled the father and son, without any blood being spilled. He displayed, on several occasions, an intrepid courage, by which he proved that heroic qualities are not incompatible with a mild and even temper. Bertoalde, duke of Saxony, presuming that his love of peace was the result of a timid disposition, entered Austrasia, and obtained some advantages over the youthful Dagobert, who narrowly escaped being killed, having had his helmet cleft by the stroke of a sabre. The father hastened to the succour of the son. While the conflicting armies were in view of each other, but separated by a river, Clotaire finding

himself personally insulted by Bertoalde, who vociferated the most insolent menaces, crossed the river on horseback, and slew his malignant adversary. Having placed his head on the point of a spear, which he carried in the guise of a standard, he routed the Saxon army.

He survived this heroical achievement a few months only; but suppressed, before his death, the post of mayor of the palace in the kingdom of Burgundy, at the instance of his courtiers, and probably from a presentiment that this office would one day set aside the legitimate succession. He died in his forty-fifth year, regretted by all ranks of his people. He entertained a high respect both for the nobility and clergy. He enjoined his subjects to pay tithes to the latter, on penalty of excommunication; and had a corporal punishment inflicted on those who neglected to uncover themselves in passing any one of the clerical order. Provided the layman was on horseback, he was forced to alight and kneel, the better to prove his submission and respect. So great in his time were the privileges of the religious orders, that the nuns at Poitiers refused to acknowledge any supremacy, and, revolting openly against the lady abbess, laid siege to the monastery, which they carried by the help of mercenaries they had taken into their pay. They were tried by the bishops, who acquitted them, because it was meant that the thunder of excommunication should fall on the heads of the laity alone. Dogmas were at this period very much in vogue. Among the theological subtilties which were discussed, perhaps the most curious one was the opinion of a bishop, who positively maintained

that woman did not form a part of the human species, but constituted a separate being. In support of his system, he asserted, that God had created man only, and that consequently woman could not be assimilated with him, or supposed to partake of the essence of the divinity. The question having been debated in a very grave and solemn manner, it was found, after a warm disputation, that agreeably to the scriptures, God had created man both male and female. The women thus recovered the honour which belongs to their sex, and were associated with the human race, of which they at once constitute the torment and the charm.

We now proceed to Dagobert, who having been king in the life-time of his father, was not much disposed to divide the royal inheritance with his brother Caribert, conformably to the inviolable law of the ancient French. As he had a powerful army on foot, he deemed it most expedient to dictate a new law, by which he settled the duchy of Aquitaine on Caribert, who could obtain no better conditions. This duchy, of which Thoulouse was the capital, was hereditary in the same family, from the year 628, the date of the above event, until the year 1503, when Louis d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the last hereditary possessor, died without male issue. This was a rare and memorable descent.

The commencement of the reign of Dagobert was auspicious; but he soon gave loose to the scandalous excesses to which he was instigated by his passion for women. He divorced his queen on pretext of sterility; and consecutively bestowed the title on three of his concubines, by

whom he allowed himself to be governed. At their avarice and extravagant style of living exhausted by degrees the revenues of the state, new imposts were levied, and every species of extortion employed, to distress the subject. Dagobert no longer possessed any amiable quality. His cupidity kept pace with his libertinism; insomuch that on the death of his brother, the duke of Aquitaine, he plundered his treasury, and thus deprived his nephews of their inheritance. The vengeance of heaven speedily overtook him. A war, unprecedented in history, threatened the total subversion of his power. A merchant, named Sammon, was become so rich, that the Sclavonians, a numerous and formidable nation, elected him their king. An extreme opulence seldom falls to the lot of a mediocrity of talents: and accordingly the merchant sovereign united to boldness of enterprize, and a persevering industry, all the qualities of an accomplished leader. He was prudent, politic, and brave. Dagobert having to complain of the ill treatment which several French traders had received in Sclavonia, sent to him an ambassador, who, notwithstanding he met with a very favourable reception, behaved with great haughtiness to Sammon. The latter held out a pacific language, and spoke of the satisfaction he was desirous to give for the alleged outrage, as well as of the friendship and good understanding he wished to maintain with the king of France. "Friendship!" exclaimed the brutal envoy. "Can it subsist between the christian servants of the true God, and pagan dogs such as you," "Well," replied Sammon, "since

we are dogs, we will make use of our teeth, and bite you with all our might."

The defeat of three French armies, which were marched against the opulent pagan, contributed to bestow new lustre on the reign of Sammon, who was punctual in keeping the promise he had made to the ambassador. Dagobert wss obliged to exempt from tribute the Saxons, to engage them to defend the frontier of the French empire, which was, notwithstanding, exposed to the frequent incursions of the Sclavonian troops. The better to repel their aggressions, he declared Sigebert, his son, aged three years, king of Austrasia; being persuaded that the great officers of state, and all those who should thus obtain an establishment at the Austrasian court, would become personally interested in resisting the enemy, to preserve their charges and prerogatives. On the birth of a second son, who was named Clovis, the bishops and lords of Neustria and Burgundy convoked an assembly, and beseeched the king to regulate by a solemn act, the partition of his states between the two royal infants. They were sensible that an encroachment had been made on their privileges since the time that Dagobert had swayed the sceptre without a rival, and were therefore desirous that the monarchy should be again divided. They had waited until a favourable opportunity should present itself to urge their request, with which the monarch found it prudent to comply. He was menaced by the Gascons, against whom he sent an old and experienced general; but scarcely had they been subdued, when the hostile preparations of the Bretons oc-

cupied his most serious attention. As he did not wish to have his enjoyments interrupted by an active state of warfare, he made choice of an agent better qualified to treat of peace than the ambassador whom he had sent to king Sammon. The latter, it will be recollected, was a merchant by profession ; but Aloy, the minister of state whom Dagobert deputed to the Bretons, was by trade a goldsmith. He negociated with so much prudence and ability, that the Bretons were speedily pacified. Dagobert did not long survive this event, to contemplate the security of his states. He was carried off by a dysentery, which he had brought on by his debauched habits of life, at the age of thirty-six years. The celebrated vault of St. Denis, which became in the sequel the cemetary of so many potentates, was opened for the first time to receive his remains.

With a view to atone for his vices and immoralities, Dagobert was profuse in his bounties to the monks. To appease heaven, and to sooth the keen reproaches of his own conscience, he forced all foreigners residing within his dominions to submit to the baptismal ceremony, in common with his subjects, and conformably to the rites and usages of the church of Rome. He published an edict, by which all the Jews who should neglect to undergo this ceremony were to be put to death. Notwithstanding all these precautions, which fanaticism suggested, it would appear that great doubts were entertained of his salvation. A bishop, to whom he had been extremely lavish of his favours, reported that he had had a vision, in which he had certainly seen the demons, in the act of carrying to hell, in a

boat, the soul of Dagobert, as the just punishment of his incontinence; but added, that, as he had been very liberal to the church, he had been instantly succoured by St. Denis, St. Morris, and St. Martin, who, to the great surprise of the affrighted devils, had snatched him from their clutches, and conveyed him triumphantly to heaven. A bas-relief, representing this vision, which is emblematical of the character of Dagobert, who was at the same time a libertine and a bigot, is still to be seen in the interior of the cathedral church of St. Denis. That church was so great a favourite, that the monarch left, by will, thirty thousand pounds weight of lead to cover the roof. It received the spoils of all the other churches of the kingdom. The portals of bronze, which still exist, were brought thither from the cathedral of St. Hilary, at Poitiers, a distance of a hundred leagues.

The infant sons of Dagobert were Sigebert II. king of Austrasia, and Clovis II. king of Neustria and Burgundy. Pepin and Aga, the mayors of the palace during their minority, were men of great capacity, and of an exemplary probity. On the death of the former, he was succeeded by his son Grimoalde, this important post having, at the request of the grandees, become hereditary. It thus acquired what constitutes the real force of monarchies, a direct succession, by the help of which the mayors of the palace were enabled, dexterously and by degrees, to possess themselves of the royal authority. Such was the ascendancy of Grimoalde over Sigebert, that, in default of male issue on his side, he prevailed on him to appoint his own son successor to the throne. The

queen, however, to frustrate this intention, bore to Sigebert a male infant, who was named Dagobert. The father did not long survive this event.

On the death of Aga, by whom Clovis II. was governed, the post of mayor of the palace was bestowed on Archambaud, whose prudence and moderation of character, made him fit to command. He presented to the king a beautiful young girl, whom he had purchased of a company of English merchants; for it ought to be noticed that, in those days, gifts of this description were made without either scruple or hesitation. Clovis became so highly enamoured of this female, that he married her, and declared her his queen. He had by her three children, who became in the sequel as obscure and insignificant as the father, whose only memorable action was, that, in a time of scarcity, he caused to be removed the gold and silver plates which ornamented the coffins of St. Denis and his companions, and sold them to purchase bread for the poor.

The laws of the succession were now merely respected for the sake of the formality, all the authority being vested in the mayors. A revolution in the state of public affairs could not fail to ensue. Accordingly, Grimoalde had the audacity to avail himself of the momentary adoption of his son Childebert, whom he placed on the throne. He was afterwards deposed by the grandees, who were displeased at his sudden elevation, and who had more to dread from the ambition of the father than from the phantom of royalty he had dethroned. Dagobert II. who was again invested with the supreme authority; Clotaire III. who died without issue; and Childeric, his brother; passed away like the shadows seen through a transparen-

cy. In their place, and wearing in reality the same diadem, the mayor Ebrouin figured, professedly under a queen regent, who, however, abandoned to him all the authority. As he disdained to govern conjointly with the grandees, in imitation of his predecessors, they took up arms against him, and obliged him to retire to a convent. He had issued a proclamation by which he placed the crown on the head of Thierry, who, having been in his cradle at the time of the death of his father, had had no share in the inheritance. Merely because he had been protected by Ebrouin, the grandees ordered that Thierry should be disgraced by the loss of his hair, and confined in a monastery.

Clotaire, king of Austrasia, who was called to the throne, possessed all the apathy of his predecessors, but had, in the first instance, the penetration to bestow his confidence on an accomplished statesman, Leger, bishop of Autun, who had been the minister of the queen regent, his mother, and who was the principal author of the last revolution. His weak and capricious character induced him afterwards to banish this minister, and to confine him in the very convent in which Ebrouin was immured. It followed of necessity that the two courtiers in disgrace united all their efforts to accomplish his ruin, which he himself took care to hasten. Being left without the aid either of a mayor of the palace, or of a minister, the terrors of a weak mind, which knew not how to govern, led him to acts of cruelty and oppression, to consolidate his authority. A nobleman, named Bodillon, having one day remonstrated against a heavy impost recently levied on the people, who had before groaned under their burdens, the

monarch ordered his guards to seize on him, and, in his presence, to inflict on him the punishment reserved for slaves. Bodillon was scourged with rods, but did not utter a single murmur. He waited a fit moment of revenge ; and, having encountered the king, who was engaged in a hunting party in the forest of Livry, he, in concert with several noblemen who had taken up his quarrel, attacked and slew Childeric, together with the queen, who was pregnant, and the young prince, Dagobert. Another royal infant, who was in the palace at the time, afterwards succeeded to the throne.

The state being thus left without a ruler, Thierry was brought from his convent, and proclaimed king. As a bare forehead was the token of a slave, he suffered his hair to grow ; and, to the end that he might reign in safety, as well as to comply with the wishes of the grandees, he appointed a mayor of the palace. It happened, however, that the bishop of Autun, and the impetuous Ebrouin, had quitted their convent at the same time. The latter demanded to be reinstated in his office and dignities, to which, he pretended, he had as great a right, as that which enabled Thierry to wear the diadem. Having weakened his pretensions, and disgusted the nobility, by the assassination of the individual whose post he claimed, he retired to Austrasia, where, to render himself formidable to his adversaries, he set up a pseudo Clovis, the pretended son of Clotaire III. He still persisted in demanding his place, as an inalienable property ; and, by way of proving that he was without a competitor, invested Autun, seized on the unfortunate bishop, and deprived him of his sight. Thierry, intimidated by these proceedings, was constrained to

bestow on him the post of mayor of the palace. The first act of his authority was to publish, in the style of a sovereign prince, a general amnesty, from which, however, he excepted the bishop of Autun, whom he accused of the murder of Childeric. The latter was tried by his brother prelates, and sentenced to die. The despotism of Ebrouin at length became such, that the nobles, to arrest its progress, declared two of their own body dukes of Austrasia, with the government of which kingdom they were invested. They were declared rebels by Ebrouin, who marched against them a powerful army. One of them, Martin d'Heristal, having surrendered the city of Laon, which was besieged by Ebrouin's troops, was decapitated; but his cousin Pepin d'Heristal, from whom the kings of the second race afterwards claimed their descent, was resolved to fight until the last extremity.

Ebrouin perished in a singular manner. Having sentenced to a heavy fine the grand master of the royal household, who was accused of malversation, the latter mustered a troop of domestics from the kitchen and scullery, who dispatched with their knives the haughty mayor of the palace, as he was on his way to the church. Pepin d'Heristal was now solicited by the grandees to pass without delay into the Neustrian territory, and take on him the charge of mayor of the palace. This being, however, contrary to the wish of Thierry, Pepin took care to be accompanied by a powerful army, by which the royal forces were defeated. The king thus fell into his hands, according to the desire of the nobility, and the promise they had made.

Pepin, being satisfied with the possession of

the real authority, left the parade of royalty to his crowned vassal. He placed the kingdom on a most respectable footing; and, to the end that justice might be duly administered in the interior, re-established the convocations of the states, into which the clergy was for the first time introduced. He brought back to their obedience the Frisons and Germans, who, perceiving nothing more than the shadow of a monarchy, fancied that they could, without difficulty, throw off the yoke of the French. Having fallen sick, his enemies had the atrocity to assassinate his eldest son, whom he had created duke of Burgundy. All those who had any share in this butchery were put to death; and on the day of their execution, he declared his grandson, aged six years only, mayor of the palace. He died a short time after this melancholy event, and after having reigned, with great reputation, as the substitute of three kings, whose names it is unnecessary to cite.

His widow exercised the functions of mayor, as tutoress of her son, and depositary of the first place in the kingdom. It thus happened that a monarch, replete with health and vigour, found himself under the direction of a woman and a child. The widow lodged in prison Charles Martel, the son of Pepin by a former marriage; while the faction which had been adverse to her deceased husband, took up arms, to liberate, as they said, the sovereign whom she held captive, but in reality to elect a mayor of their own choice. They expelled both the mother and the son, and appointed Rainfroi, one of their own party, to a post which was more strongly disputed than the throne. On the death of the king,

which happened soon after, the lawful heir, Thierry, was excluded from the succession, and the son of Childeric II. was taken out of a convent, and proclaimed Chilperic II.

Charles Martel having escaped from his prison, followed the example of his father, by imperatively demanding the post of mayor of the palace, as his inherent right. On this occasion the new sovereign, contrary to every expectation, displayed a certain share of courage. He prepared to take the field, and combat by the side of his mayor; but he was anticipated by Charles Martel, who opened the campaign so successfully, that he forced him to submit to his conditions. As a compensation to Rainfroi, for the loss of his place, he was invested with the duchy of Angers. With respect to the unfortunate monarch, his humiliation affected him so sensibly, that he died of grief.

The convents were at the above time an inexhaustible source of royalty. From one of these solitary abodes Martel drew an infant, named Thierry, aged seven years, whom he elevated to the throne of his ancestors, to be enabled to govern in his name. Such was the policy which, notwithstanding, saved the state. By thus keeping up the semblance of majesty, he was enabled, not only to disconcert all the factious who were jealous of his power, but to stem the torrent of a very formidable invasion. The Saracens, who had already subjugated the Spanish territory, penetrated into France. They were led by Abderame, a consummate general, who commanded in the name of the Caliph, and whose first successful attack was on Eudes, duke of Aquitain. After this victory, his desperate bands were about

to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, when Charles Martel, whose vigorous genius alone could have rescued the empire from destruction, brought them to a general action between Tours and Poitiers. By the dint of constant reinforcements, brought from the interior of Africa, they had by this time become so numerous and powerful, as to inspire terror in the one half of Europe. They fought under the banner of the new fanaticism, the religion of Mahomed, which inspired such an enthusiasm as to render the soldiery in a manner invincible: they were led to believe that the war had been commanded by the Divinity, who had enjoined them to shed the blood of the infidels; and that heaven was ready to receive all those who should fall in battle. It is not surprising that such powerful incentives, acting on an ignorant and ferocious multitude, should in a little time have achieved the conquest of Asia and Africa. But for Charles Martel, Europe might have shared the same fate. In spite of the ability of their chief, who disputed the ground with the utmost bravery, he defeated the Moors, and compelled them to retreat. They rallied some time after in the vicinity of Narbonne; but were again defeated, and at length driven out of the French territory.

The result of these important and splendid victories was, that, on the death of Eudes, duke of Aquitain, his son and successor was called upon to take the oaths of allegiance, not to his king, but to Charles Martel, who thus implicitly assumed the sovereign authority. That he would expressly have done this on the death of Thierry, which speedily followed, is not difficult to infer

from his neglecting to appoint a successor. Pope Gregoire III., to the end that he might prevail on him to declare war against the emperor Leon, whom he taxed with heresy, as well as against the Lombards, sent him secret offers to invest him with the regal dignities, for which purpose he was, in the first instance, to be proclaimed consul of Rome. Death, however, which carried off, in the course of the same year, the pope, the emperor, and Charles Martel, disconcerted this splendid project.

The latter, when he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, divided the kingdom among his children, whose inheritance it was considered, not only by himself, but by the nation at large. He bestowed Austrasia on Carloman; and on Pepin, surnamed *the short*, Neustria and Burgundy. In this state the interregnum continued for some time without any murmurs. The two brothers were cordially united, and acted in concert on all particular occasions. Carloman visited his Austrasian dominions, to reform a variety of abuses; and, among other innovations, introduced the custom of dating the civil and religious acts from the epoch of the incarnation. He governed with great prudence and circumspection; as did likewise his brother Pepin, who was, notwithstanding, obliged to resort to a stratagem, to render his authority secure. Having perceived a strong spirit of discontent among the nobility, he, with great address and presence of mind, brought a state *puppet* from behind the scene, and placed him on the throne. This mock sovereign, in whose name he found it most politic to govern, was Childeric, the son of Chilperic II.

However the two brothers might be disposed to remain tranquil, in the enjoyment of the possessions which had fallen to them, they had a mother-in-law who was resolved to disconcert their plans. She was niece to the duke of Bavaria, and, at the time of the father's death, was immured in a convent, from which she contrived to effect her escape. She repaired to the court of Bavaria, where she promoted a marriage between the duke, her uncle, and the sister of the young princes, whose consent she was not solicitous to obtain. The duke, anticipating the probable issue of this union, formed a powerful league to oppose to the brothers, who shortly after manifested their hostile intentions, and marched against him in person. The contending armies were separated by a river. The Bavarian troops, and their allies, kept on the defensive, to weary out their enemies, and force them to retreat. This would have been, on their side, a complete victory. Pepin was quite at a loss what course to take, when Carloman fell on a stratagem which has since been often tried with success. He had the river sounded in several places, and found it fordable both above and below the camp. He now caused fires to be lighted around the tents, as if the soldiers had been inactive; and having divided the army into two columns, each of them crossed the river at a particular point, in such a way as that they were suddenly in presence of the enemy, whom they attacked to the right and left. The duke and his allies were defeated; and the mother-in-law once more lodged in a convent, where she remained until her death.

Carloman and Pepin were successful in all their enterprises, and repelled the attacks of the Saxons, as well as of several other nations of Germany. In the enjoyment of an elevated rank, which victory ensured to him, Carloman was, however, sensible of all the nullity of human greatness. His heroical qualities were combined with an extreme mildness of disposition, which caused him to lament the cruel necessity imposed on him, in the exercise of the supreme authority, of repressing by rigorous measures the licentiousness and audacity of those he governed. He accordingly surrendered his dominions to his brother Pepin, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, in Italy, where he spent the remainder of his days in a devout and tranquil retirement.

Pepin had a brother-in-law, named Griffon, whose character was very different from his own. After the above event, he lodged him in his palace, and bestowed on him several marks of his particular favour, in return for which he experienced the basest ingratitude. Griffon at length broke out into open rebellion, and formed a league with the duke of Saxony, who received him with open arms. The address of Pepin obliged him, however, to make overtures for a peace, which he intended to break on the first opportunity, as nothing less than the overthrow of his benefactor could satisfy his restless and turbulent disposition.

On the death of the duke of Bavaria, his widow, who, as has been already noticed, had escaped from the convent with the mother-in-law of Pepin, and who had thus engaged the latter in a war, invited Griffon to her territories. He came;

and, to evince the confidence which was to be reposed in him, seized on her person, and on that of her infant son, causing himself to be proclaimed duke of Bavaria. Pepin conducted himself, on this occasion, with great dignity, as well as moderation. Instead of punishing him as a rebel by whom a solemn treaty had been infracted, and as one who had unlawfully deprived of their possessions a widow and fatherless infant, he exhorted him, by every persuasion, to lay aside his usurped authority. To gratify in some measure his boundless ambition, he tendered to him twelve counties in the kingdom of Neustria, which Griffon accepted with every apparent submission, but still harbouring the most implacable hatred against his brother-in-law.

The insurrections he endeavoured to excite were suppressed without difficulty; and Pepin, to grasp at the regal dignities, had only one obstacle to remove. The unfortunate Childeric was accordingly sent into banishment; and thus terminated the dynasty of the first race of kings.

CHAPTER II.

Establishment of the Kings of the second race, to the extinction of the House of Charlemagne.

PEPIN had every advantage on his side, when he ascended the throne. He was in the flower of his age, in his twenty- A. D. 752.

seventh year, respected and beloved. He had ingratiated himself with the dukes and peers of the kingdom, as well as with the bishops and clergy. He was affable and courteous to all the ranks of the people; and united to these amiable and conciliatory qualities, an ardent courage, and a most consummate prudence. Is it therefore surprising that Childeric should have been deposed, without a dissentient voice in the national assembly which was convened to deliberate on public affairs?

To attain this high elevation, Pepin was, however, obliged to resort to policy, in aid of his courage. He had kept up a constant intercourse with the popes, and had contributed to aggrandize the ecclesiastical authority. He was thus enabled to explain himself on a very delicate point. Having sounded the sentiments of the sovereign pontiff, he beseeched him, as if he had a pang of conscience which he alone could allay, to resolve the following question: whether it was better to delegate the royal authority to a being absolutely incapable of reigning, and who, nevertheless, had the name of king, than to transfer it to an individual who was very capable of reigning, but who wanted the name? The pope decided in favour of the most worthy.

When on the throne, Pepin was not less active than while he was concerting the measures which led to his elevation. The Saxons having again revolted, he reduced them to obedience, and obliged them to adhere to the established treaties. The Saracens, who still occupied the southern provinces, having threatened a new irruption into his states, he forced them to retrograde, and thus extended the limits of his own dominions.

The papal territory was next invaded by the Lombards. He marched into Italy; and their defeat was so highly gratifying to the pope, that his holiness issued a peremptory mandate to the French, never to chuse a sovereign out of the race of Pepin.

Rome having been afterwards laid siege to by the Lombards, who were not long in breaking the treaty which had been dictated by force, the affrighted pope dispatched a messenger to Pepin, with a letter from St. Peter, dated in heaven. In this letter he was called on, in the name of the angels and saints in paradise, to defend the holy see, which was in danger. In case of obedience, victory and eternal life were to be secured to him; but, in the event of a refusal, he was threatened with affliction in this world, and torments in the next. The spirit of the age is nicely depicted in this letter, on the receipt of which, Pepin, who was anxious to preserve the patrimony of St. Peter for his successors, again passed into Italy, and compelled the Lombards to subscribe to the most humiliating conditions. He then laid on the tomb of St. Peter, in the guise of a donation, the keys of all the cities restored to the pope, as a polite reply to the letter with which he had been honoured by the holy apostle.

The death of his brother-in-law, Griffon, delivered him from a turbulent spirit by whom his designs might have been thwarted; insomuch that the sequel of his reign was equally glorious with the commencement. His prodigious activity led him from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. In regulating the internal affairs of the nation, he was as anxious to prevent abuses,

as he was inflexible in punishing those who were guilty of them. He was particularly attentive to the convocation of the *plaids* (pleas,) by which his subjects were secured in their immunities and privileges. In carrying the war into Aquitain, he was as successful as on every other similar occasion; and recovered that fine province, which had been detached from the crown of France. He died at the age of fifty-four years, of a dropsy of the chest. During his illness, he had himself conveyed to Tours, to the tomb of St. Martin, whose aid he implored, but without efficacy. The reputation of the saint was thus diminished in the view of the people.

The death of Pepin was regarded as a public calamity. All the orders of the state were present at his obsequies, and were loud in the expression of their grief. France had never as yet been governed by a prince who was gifted with an equal share of prudence, wisdom, and activity. He possessed so essentially the qualities of a monarch, that, in his life time, no one was ever heard to call him an usurper. He was short in stature, his height not having exceeded four feet, four inches, English measure; but this defect was compensated by an uncommon strength and vigour of body. Having been informed that several of his courtiers had secretly ridiculed his diminutive size, he invited them on the following day to be present at the spectacle of a battle between a lion and a bull. The sovereign was on a scaffold, surrounded by the whole of his court. The two combatants having been let loose, the lion leaped furiously on his adversary, whom he overthrew. "Is there any one among you," ex-

claimed the king, "who has sufficient resolution to oblige the lion to let go his hold?" A dead silence prevailed. "The task, then, shall be mine," said Pepin, elevating his voice; and, leaping into the amphitheatre with his drawn sword, he made up to the lion, cut off his head with a blow, and returned tranquilly to his seat. In passing through the croud of wondering spectators, he was heard to say: "David was small, but he slew Goliath, who was a giant." Such traits of strength and prowess, observes a celebrated French writer, are not to be met with in our degenerate days.

Another curious anecdote, which belongs to the reign of Pepin, is recorded in history. Constantinus Copronymus, the emperor of Constantinople, presented an organ, the first that had been seen in France, to that monarch, who bestowed it on the church of St. Cornelius at Compeigne. On its being touched for the first time, a woman, who was present, was so surprised and charmed with the tones which it emitted, that she fell into a fit from which she could not be recovered. So extraordinary a death, which displays the profound sensibility of the soul, is not undeserving of the observation of the philosophical reader.

Charles and Carloman were the successors of their father, whose dominions they shared. This partition threatened to be productive of mischiefs similar to those which had marked the progress of the first race of kings; but the death of Carloman speedily occurred, to ensure the public tranquillity. This prince was dark, insidious, and mistrustful in his disposition; but the character of Charles was altogether different. Frank,

general, and displaying a noble audacity, nature had endowed him with all the gifts which could conciliate the affections of his subjects, by whom he was equally respected and beloved. Unlike his father, he was tall in stature. His air was at once courteous and dignified; his body robust and finely formed; his eye keen and penetrating; and his countenance open and prepossessing. He announced, in short, the warrior, the conqueror, and the politician.

Having become, at the age of twenty-five years, by the death of his brother, the sole master of the French monarchy, the impulsion of his towering genius was freed from every shackle. To infuse a military spirit into the nation, he re-established the ancient assemblies of the field of Mars; and, bestowing on them the title of parliaments, delegated to them a portion of his authority, by constituting them the members of the legislation. The generals, nobles, and dignified clergy, were thus invested with powers which rendered the government aristo-monarchical. In resorting to this measure of state policy, he laboured under no apprehension as to his own security, seeing that he was sure of governing every where, by the force of his genius, and the greatness of his character. His exalted qualities eventually acquired him the title of Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus) by which we shall in future distinguish him.

Each of the national parliaments, whose interests were inseparable from those of the people, resembled a Roman senate. The French, proud of possessing a part of the legislative authority, acted with firmness, and with an elevation of

character, which inspired, in all the ranks, an ardent glow of courage. They displayed, in the territory of the ancient Gauls, for the first time, a true and energetic love of their country. Following the footsteps of their sovereign, who led them on to victory, they bore, without murmuring, the toils and perils of long and obstinate wars, which, under any other leader, would have wearied out their patience. Thus it was that Charlemagne was enabled, in the event, to give more than a double extension to his empire. The whole of Gaul, Italy, the vast territory which extends from the Rhine to the Vistula, and to the Baltic, together with a great part of Spain, fell under his powerful domination.

Charlemagne divorced his consort, to form an alliance with Didier, king of the Lombards, whose daughter he married. The father having, however, very indiscreetly afforded too open a protection to the widow and children of Carloman, with a view to the possession of a part of the dominions which had belonged to the defunct monarch, a new divorce ensued. Enraged at this humiliation, Didier made overtures to Pope Adrian I., whom he tried to bring over to his projects. Having failed in the attempt, he attacked the papal territory, and endeavoured to seize on the person of the pope, who solicited Charlemagne to hasten to his succour. The latter crossed the mountains, entered Italy, and having dethroned his adversary, of whose sovereignty he took possession, was declared by the pope king of Italy, and patrician of Rome. The latter dignity approached very nearly to that of emperor.

He entertained a most implacable hatred

against the Saxons, whom he persecuted for thirty years, with a cruelty which made him depart altogether from his wonted character of generosity and elevation of mind. It appears that he could not pardon them, because they possessed a courage equal to his own, by which they were rendered impatient of a foreign yoke, such as the one he wished to impose on them. Apprehending that christianity would be an infallible mean to subdue their bold and impetuous character, he had no sooner brought them under some degree of subjection, than he sent among them zealous missionaries, and employed every possible expedient to engage them to consent to the ceremony of baptism. As persuasives had but little effect, it was at length deemed necessary to resort to acts of cruelty. Four thousand of them, who refused to submit, were butchered, in one day, on the banks of a small river which discharges itself into the Oder. This act, and others of a similar atrocity, instigated the Saxons again to take up arms. They were finally subjugated, and dispersed in different parts of the states of their vindictive and merciless oppressor. It is to be lamented that so foul a blot should have been cast on the reputation of a sovereign, whose conduct was exemplary on every occasion in which the wretched Saxons were not concerned. He pacified several of the Italian states; appeased the quarrels of the little potentates, who were prepared to assail each other; prevented, whenever an opportunity offered itself, the effusion of blood; concluded several glorious and useful treaties; and, finally, established the tranquillity of his vast domains.

He subdued the Saracens, those eternal enemies of christianity, who, having once found their way into Europe, made incursions from time to time, and kept the nations in a constant state of terror. He conquered Austria and Hungary, united the duchy of Bavaria to the crown of France, and captured the islands of Majorca and Minorca. But what was still more important and useful to France, was the barrier he opposed to the fury of the Northern bands, whose descents on the coasts were constantly marked by extraordinary ravages and disasters.

He possessed too much penetration not to foresee, that the north would in a little time pour forth new legions of the fierce banditti who had already laid waste the greater part of Europe. To guard against their migrations, he gave orders for the construction of vessels, or rather of boats with an extraordinary length of keel, which, being constantly manned and armed, were stationed at the entrances of the rivers. The coasts were every where guarded by these boats, which were calculated for attack as well as for defence, and the line of which extended from the mouth of the Tiber to the extremity of Germany. Europe was thus protected by the vigilance of Charlemagne, whose principal aim was to throw up a mound against an impetuous torrent, the course of which might, without the utmost prudence and vigilance, sweep every thing before it. Entertaining, as he did, a presentiment of future disasters, he frequently recommended to his sons not to neglect this bulwark; but when their deplorable divisions had broken down the dike he had been at so much pains to establish, the provinces

became a prey to the most desolating incursions; the ravages were general; and the rivers of France were swollen with blood.

Charlemagne, who was constantly in action, instead of confiding in the reports of others, was enabled to see that his orders were punctually executed. The condition of his subjects was constantly in his view. In one place he ordered the repairs of a highway; in another, the construction of a bridge, or the means the best calculated to render a river navigable; and in another, again, he afforded the necessary aid to agriculture and commerce. It was not possible to deceive a sovereign who thus heard and saw for himself. Each of the provinces partook, in its turn, of his benefits; and the print of his majestic footsteps gave life and vigour to every part of the kingdom. He was a great enemy to luxury, and never made any display which might be said to border on royal magnificence, unless when he held his general assemblies at Aix-la-Chapelle. On all other occasions his dress, table, and attendants resembled those of a private individual. When he saw any of his courtiers sumptuously clad in silks and costly furs, he was sure to invite them to a hunting party, in the course of which he led them into the wilds and forests. On their return he would not allow them to change their dress, which the thorns had lacerated. "Observe," said he, "the condition in which you are, while my "sheepskin cloak, which I turn to either side, "according to the state of the weather, is as "sound as it was yesterday. Leave silks and finery to women. The dress of a man is for use, "and not for shew."

In the pursuit of his military career, Charlemagne had to encounter but one reverse, which occurred after he had conquered all the territory situated between the Pyrenees and the Eber. In recrossing the mountains, his rear guard was attacked by the Gascons, who made a dreadful slaughter of his troops in the valley of Roncevaux. On this occasion his nephew, the celebrated Roland, lost his life; and this disastrous event laid the foundation of the poem of Ariosto, entitled "Orlando Furioso." While at Ratisbon, he had afterwards to encounter one of the greatest misfortunes which can befal humanity. He was awakened in the night by a priest, who came to announce to him a conspiracy, at the head of which was his eldest son. The conspirators had assembled in a church, to deliberate on a plan for the assassination of their sovereign, while the priest in question was in a remote corner at his prayers. They were convicted and put to death, with the exception of the unnatural monster of a son, who was imprisoned in a monastery.

Charlemagne was accustomed to pass annually from the Pyrenees into Germany, and thence to Italy. In approaching Rome on one of these journies, Pope Leo III. who had been newly elected, but who was not firmly seated in the pontifical chair, dispatched a messenger to meet him, with the keys of the confession of St. Peter, and the standard of the city of Rome. From this union of religious and military attributes, it was evident that the Roman patrician, Charlemagne, was on the eve of becoming emperor. Accordingly, on Christmas-day, which was then the day of

A. D. 800. the new year, being present at the service of the mass, and on his knees before the altar, the pope came suddenly behind him, and placed on his head the crown of the Cæsars. Instantly the roof of the temple was made to re-echo with the exclamations of *Long live Charlemagne, crowned by the hand of God! Victory to the pacific emperor of the Romans!* He was now seated on a throne, which had been prepared for the occasion, and, the patrician's cloak having been taken off, was clad in the imperial habit. The pope prostrated himself before him three times. By this coronation, an august title, which had lain dormant for several centuries, was revived. It did not, however, restore to Rome, once the capital of the world, its ancient splendour.

Nicephorus, the emperor of the East, was compelled to acknowledge Charlemagne in his new quality of emperor of the West. So great was his renown, that the caliph Aaron Raschild, sovereign of Persia, sent him several presents, as tokens of his esteem and admiration. Among these presents was a clock which struck the hours, the first that had been seen in France. An ambassador having been sent, in return, by Charlemagne to the king of Persia, the latter ceded to him the property of the portion of the Holy Land in which the tomb of Christ is contained. This circumstance contributed not a little to impel the Christian nations to the celebrated crusades, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

Notwithstanding a vigorous and robust temperament, Charlemagne now began to feel a sen-

sible decay, which was not so much the effect of an advanced period of life, as of the unremitting fatigues attendant on his journies, and on the military operations which he headed in person. He accordingly drew up an act, regulating the partition of his dominions between his three sons; and this testament he placed under the safeguard of the French nobility, and the special protection of the church of Rome. This precaution was, however, unnecessary, as he had shortly after the misfortune to lose two of his sons. He delegated to the survivor, Louis, afterwards surnamed the *Debonaire*, a portion of the imperial dignities, to the end that the nation might preserve the advantages it had derived from his conquests, over which his infirmities prevented him from keeping, as heretofore, a jealous and watchful eye. He at the same time caused his grandson, Bernard, the natural son of Pepin, to be proclaimed king of Italy. He died at the advanced age of seventy-one years, and was buried in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, his favourite residence.

Charlemagne founded several seminaries of learning, suppressed mendicity, and established a fixed and invariable price for corn. The meanest of his subjects were thus enabled to provide against their wants, and all murmurings, on this head, were banished. He formed the vast project of a canal, which was intended to unite the Danube with the Rhine, and thus to establish a communication between the ocean and the Euxine sea. So great was the glory of his name, and such the extent of his conquests, that it appeared as if his posterity had merely to collect at leisure the fruit of this superb inheritance, and to maintain them-

selves, by their inherent force, in the elevated position in which they were placed. It was soon discovered, however, that there was no longer a Charlemagne on the throne; and that the destiny of empires too often depends on a single individual.

Louis, his successor, did not possess any of the heroical qualities of his illustrious father. On his accession to the empire he was aged thirty-six years, and had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. He appointed the eldest to succeed to the imperial dignities, and at the same time, created Pepin king of Aquitain, and Louis king of Bavaria. He was the more eager to do this, because he entertained well-founded apprehensions, that the turbulent spirit of the grandees would, after his death, throw obstacles in the way of the legitimate succession.

The first disaster of his reign was the open hostility of Bernard, who governed in Italy, conformably to the will of Charlemagne, but who, not being satisfied with his inheritance, formed the daring project of dethroning his uncle. He had been instigated to this by the French nobility, by whom Louis was represented as too impotent to wield the imperial sceptre. Bernard accordingly assembled an army, and seized on the passage of the Alps. On this occasion Louis acted with more firmness and vigour than was to have been expected. He marched in person to quell the rebellion. The eclat of the imperial arms, on which Charlemagne had stamped so high a character, terrified the party of Bernard, by whom the important post of the Alps was precipitately abandoned. The Italian army was dispersed, and the authors of the revolt were the

most forward to abandon the young prince, who was made prisoner, with the whole of his attendants. His accomplices, who were discovered to be the principal ministers and counsellors of Louis, were put to death, with the exception of the bishops, whose sacred character was respected. With respect to Bernard himself, who had been led away by the artful insinuations of the French courtiers, and by the impetuosity of his youth, for he was only nineteen years of age, his merciless uncle ordered his eyes to be put out. To this cruel operation he fell a victim three days after. The kingdom of Italy was thus united once more to the Imperial dominions.

Louis, the cruelty of whose nature was equal to the imbecility of his character, felt, notwithstanding, a degree of conscientious remorse for the death of his nephew, for which he endeavoured to atone by a public penitence. This did not prevent him, however, from keeping in captivity the brothers of his victim, although their innocence was manifest. The consequence of this ill-timed severity was, that he made enemies of all those who had hitherto afforded him their support. Revolts broke out in several parts of his dominions; and, in the perplexity which ensued, he was so blind as to call into the administration two of the bishops who had had a principal share in the conspiracy of Bernard. In the mean time, the coasts of the ocean were ravaged by the Northern bands; the Italian isles were exposed to the incursions of the Saracens, who carried fire and devastation to the gates of Rome; the Bretons, actuated by the independence by which they have been always distinguished, broke out into open

revolt; the subjugated territory of Frioul threw off its galling yoke; and, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the Gascons put themselves at the head of a daring leader, to assert their injured rights.

The popes, despising his authority, took consecutively possession of the pontifical throne, without calling on him to confirm their elections. His first queen held him in captive chains, betrayed him, and forced him to divest himself of the best part of his possessions, which he surrendered to three ungrateful sons, whom she had taught to despise their father and sovereign. On her death he took another queen, Judith of Bavaria, who was not content with dishonouring his bed, but, setting all decency at defiance, forced him to bestow the post of prime minister on the adulterer. The issue of this marriage was a son, named Charles, and afterwards surnamed the bald, whose birth was accompanied by all the scourges which can afflict the human race, and which seemed to presage that he himself would be one day the scourge of his country. As he came into the world after the partition had been made to the sons of the first bed, the empire was once more dismembered, as soon as he had attained the age of ten years, to provide him an inheritance; and the possessions of his brothers-in-law were broken in upon. The latter threw off every degree of filial respect. They accused their father of having tacitly assented to the adultery of his queen, by the appointment of the count of Barcelona, the presumed adulterer, to the office of high chamberlain, which gave him a constant access to her person. Having, by this calumny, which was industriously circulated, weakened

the authority of the father, they took up arms against him, and proceeded to open acts of violence. The pope, who was called on as a mediator in this unnatural struggle, betrayed the credulous Louis into the hands of his children, his most malignant persecutors. The empress, Judith, whose marriage was declared null, had her head shaved, and was condemned to the cloisters. The sentence pronounced against her infant son, Charles, was, that he should be confined in the forest of Ardennes.

The eldest of the rebel sons, Lothaire, had his father led captive to Compiegne, whence he was conveyed to Soissons, to be tried by thirty prelates. This ceremony took place in the cathedral church of Notre Dame, in that city. The archbishop of Reims put into his hands a list of his delinquencies, which he was obliged to confess aloud, thus accusing himself of sacrilege, homicide, perjury, and other crimes. He was not only condemned; but the bishops asserted that, as he had violated the original partition of his territories, he was himself the author of the calamities to which his subjects had been exposed. It was difficult for him to reply to this accusation, seeing that his weakness and indecision were the real causes of the civil wars which had ensued; and he therefore submitted to a public penitence. A hair-cloth having been spread before the altar, his belt and sword were taken off, together with the military insignia which he wore at the moment. While he lay prostrate on the earth, he was clad in a shirt of sackcloth, and in the black gown of a penitent, which, being once put on, he was to wear for life. He was after-

wards led to a small cell, or prison, built against the wall of a church, but so narrow and low, that it rather resembled a tomb, than the abode of a living being. He was there fed on barley bread and water, receiving the light and air through a small aperture, by which he was enabled to hear the mass, and receive the sacraments, the only consolations allowed to him.

A sudden and unexpected revolution was, however, shortly brought about in his favour. The grandees and military officers of distinction, who had, in the first instance, been most indignant at his conduct, solicited Lothaire to release him from his captivity. The brothers of the latter, Pepin, and Louis, joined in this request, but ineffectually, Lothaire still insisting that the sentence was not his, but that of the national diet. The result was, that the troops, on each side, took the field. While the armies were drawn up in battle array, to decide this great quarrel, word was brought that the emperor requested to leave his prison for an instant. Permission having been granted to that effect, he was led by his guards into the midst of the hostile ranks, whom he beseeched, in the name of the Divinity, of nature, and of the country, to spare the blood they were preparing to spill on his account. Provided they would still preserve the peace, he added that he would consent to remain in captivity until the termination of his wretched existence. Lothaire was inflexible; but his two brothers, by resorting to a stratagem, contrived to hem him in, so as to compel him to retreat with his troops.

The emperor having been thus liberated by two of his sons, who had in the first instance con-

spired against him, in concert with their unfeeling and implacable brother, the diadem and military insignia were restored to him in the church of St. Denis, in which all the nobility of France were assembled in full ceremony, as if a new coronation had been about to take place. Lothaire, finding himself deserted by all his partizans, and unable to withstand the formidable forces which were preparing to invade his territory, was compelled, in his turn, to prostrate himself before his father, who was seated on a throne in the centre of the Imperial encampment. He was pardoned, on condition that he should instantly quit France, never to return from his Italian dominions without an express permission. To this engagement he was bound by oath; and, as a further security, the passages into Italy were guarded by strong garrisons.

The empress Judith, who had been liberated from the convent, took occasion to plead in favour of her son Charles, to whose partition the weak monarch, her husband, added the kingdom of Neustria. This imprudent step soon came to the knowledge of the three brothers, who again united in a formidable league against their father. Their interests were now become common and inseparable; but when they were on the eve of recommencing the war, Pepin died. Another indiscretion followed: the inheritance of the deceased was, at the instigation of Judith, likewise bestowed on Charles.

Louis, king of Bavaria, the third son by the former marriage, having taken up arms to invade France, on pretext that by this new award his in-

terests were peculiarly affected; and the grandees of Aquitain, the sovereignty his deceased brother had possessed, having declared in his favour; the wretched emperor his father, now aged and infirm, was compelled to take the field against him. He soon fell sick from fatigue; and with this illness superstition blended its terrors, to hasten his dissolution. Two comets, and a considerable eclipse of the sun, were seen at the same time. Entertaining a firm persuasion that the planets, in their celestial revolutions, pointed out the fate of the princes of the earth, he saw his death written in the firmament. He therefore refused to take any nourishment, and died of inanition. When he found his end approaching, he set aside, for Lothaire, a sword and a golden sceptre, the emblems of the empire which he left to him, on condition, however, that he should abide by the partition in favour of prince Charles. As he did not make any mention of his son Louis of Bavaria, it was intimated to him, that, as a christian, he ought not to depart this life without bestowing on him his pardon. The dying monarch shook his hoary locks, and, pointing to them with emotion, replied: "*I pardon him; but you may tell him, that it is he who has brought down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.*"

Three rival brothers, each of them at the head of an army, prepared to dispute the inheritance of their father, before he was entombed: such was the funeral pomp of Louis, whose obsequies were doomed to be sprinkled with blood. His sons had tormented him in his life time: they had dismembered, in his view, the vast empire of

Charlemagne. They were now about to inflict a punishment on themselves, and to gather the disastrous fruits of their discord and cupidity.

Lothaire, being confirmed in the title of emperor, aimed at the possession of the whole of his father's territories, and endeavoured to deprive of their inheritance his brothers Louis and Charles, who assembled all their forces to vindicate their rights. This great family quarrel was decided on the plains of Fontenai. The conflict was terrible, and the ground disputed with an obstinacy of which few examples are to be found in the sanguinary records of war. Historians agree in stating, that a hundred thousand men fell on this occasion. Lothaire was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. He had instantly recourse to the Saxons, who had been so cruelly persecuted by Charlemagne, and tendered to them his permission to return to paganism, provided they would aid him in spilling the blood of his brothers, for which he so ardently thirsted. They gladly abjured christianity, embraced their idols with a new enthusiasm, and flocked in prodigious numbers to the standard of Lothaire, who was, however, forced, in spite of this scandalous recourse, to consent to the partition. The grandees, wearied out by these discords between the brothers, interposed, bound their hands, enquired into their respective claims, and forced them, in spite of themselves, to come to terms of accommodation. Lothaire, who preserved the title of emperor, had assigned to him, Italy, Rome, Provence, and the fertile territories situated between the Rhone, the Rhine, the Maese, and the

Scheldt. Louis, who acquired the surname of Germanicus, had the whole of Germany; and France, comprehending Aquitain and Neustria, fell to the lot of Charles, the son of the empress Judith. The fine empire of the west, founded by Charlemagne, was lost to the house of France. Instead of remaining hereditary, it became elective, as soon as it had passed into the hands of the Germans.

During the fatal quarrels between the three brothers, the Saracens had invaded the duchy of Benevento, of the greater part of which they possessed themselves. Charles laboured under still greater embarrassments. The northern brigands made a descent at the entrance of the Garonne, and laid waste the country to Thoulouse. Another flotilla of these desperate adventurers entered the Seine, and sailed up to Rouen. Having obtained possession of that place, they advanced to Paris, which they pillaged. In the mean time, Charles was entrenched at St. Denis, with a small body of troops; and held a council of bishops, who were consulted on the mode of prosecuting the war. The nobility had been cut off in such numbers by the intestine divisions, that scarcely any of them were left to defend the country against foreign invasion, or to assist by their counsels. Charles was reduced to the necessity of bestowing seven thousand pounds weight of silver on the devastators of his country, to induce them to retire with the plunder they had collected. A general diet was next holden, and a law enacted, that the nobility should not be constrained to follow the king to the war, in the case of any intes-

time quarrel, or idle pretext of aggrandizement, but should merely be called out when the country was threatened with invasion.

As, instead of fighting them, Charles had in a manner subsidized the brigands of the north, their incursions became still more frequent. One act of dastardly submission seldom fails to draw another in its train; and accordingly he had the meanness to regulate the quota of the contributions which each city was to pay them. He had wanted the spirit which was requisite to repel the first attack; he was surrounded on all sides by enemies; and his only talent consisted in appeasing revolts by money. He was accustomed to say, that he merely paid what the war in which he must otherwise have engaged would have cost. This reasoning, however, which force may sometimes employ, does not apply to a state, the condition of which is enfeebled.

At this time the grandees formed the resolution to reside on their territorial possessions, and not to take any part in the general interests, which had been so indecently compromised. Content with defending and aggrandizing their own property, their views were exclusively directed to their private concerns; and their union with the crown was weakened in proportion. They repented that they had espoused the quarrels of the princes, whose offers, as well as their persons, they finally contemned. The foundation of the feudal system was thus laid.

On the death of the emperor Lothaire, who left three sons, a new partition became necessary. Charles shewed himself more active in usurpation, than when he was called on to make a legi-

timate defence. He invaded the states of his deceased brother, and imprisoned two of his nephews. He had, however, rendered himself too odious to be suffered to remain tranquil. The grandees, each of them in his particular retirement, became acquainted with this invasion, the aim of which they resolved to defeat. They did not scruple to say, that, as they had placed Charles on the throne at the expence of their blood and treasures, they were justified in deposing him, now that his conduct was that of an unprincipled usurper. They invited Louis, styled Germanicus, to seat himself on the throne; and convened a free and general assembly at Verberie. Terrified at these preparations, Charles promised to do justice to all; but his word was not believed. The princes of the blood, and the different orders of the community, acknowledged Louis, who was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Sens. The complaints urged against Charles were so well founded, and the will of the grandees so reasonable and just, that his brother Louis had scarcely the air of dispossessing him, when he became master of his dominions.

The latter having, however, very imprudently disbanded a part of his army, Charles availed himself of this circumstance, and, by the dint of bribes, promises, and protestations, brought over the greater part of the nobility to his interest. Encouraged by this dawn of success, he levied an army with all possible speed, and reconquered his provinces with a facility equal to that by which the loss of them had been accompanied.

The northern depredators still continuing to lay waste the territory bordering on the coasts,

Charles assembled a parliament at Compiegne, and, with the consent of the diet, bestowed on Robert, surnamed the Valiant, the duchy of France, situated between the Loire and the Seine, on condition that he should protect it against their incursions. Robert fully justified the high expectations which had been conceived of him, by his prudent and valorous conduct. He was the grandfather of Hugo Capet; and it will hereafter be seen, that a grateful sense of his important services, entertained by all ranks, secured the throne to his descendants. The end of the Carlovingian race approached, and had a strong analogy, as will appear, to that of the first race. The grandees were in reality the sovereign arbiters on both occasions. Such was their authority on their respective domains, that Baudouin, high forester, carried off the daughter of a king of France, and, having forced the father to consent to his union with her, was afterwards created count of Flanders.

To return to the history of Charles.—On the death of the son of the emperor Lothaire, he crossed the Alps with a powerful army, and took possession of the kingdom of Italy. His ambition being fired by this aggrandizement, he repaired to Rome, and purchased the imperial crown at the expence of his best prerogatives. His brother Louis was so much offended at this coronation, by which his second son was disinherited, that he resolved to make an attack on the dominions of Charles. He died, however, at Frankfort while he was making his preparations for that purpose. Having braved the vengeance of the father, Charles came to a resolution to

dispossess his nephews of their inheritance. Their age and experience enabled them, however, to oppose to him an effectual resistance. His entry into Germany was followed by a speedy defeat.

The whole of his ambition was now confined to Italy. While he was engaged in repulsing the Saracens, who carried fire and devastation into the papal territory, he looked with a tranquil eye on the banditti of the north, whose depredatory incursions were still formidable in France, notwithstanding all the vigilant precautions of Robert. His new title of emperor was, however, fatal to him. Having returned to France, he learned that Carloman, king of Bavaria, the second son of his deceased brother Louis, was about to march an army into Italy, to assert his right to the imperial dignities. He accordingly made every preparation to recross the Alps; but the generals of his army, being wearied out by his incapacity, restlessness, and inconstancy, gained over Sedecias, his physician, by birth a Jew, to poison him. This weak monarch died in the cottage of a peasant. His body was embalmed, to the end that it might be conveyed to St. Denis; but the activity of the poison was such, that the soldiers could not bear the stench of the putrid exhalations it emitted. It was therefore buried on the march.

Charles was not regretted. His restless and turbulent spirit led him on to enterprises, which constantly miscarried through his incapacity, and the defect of a sound judgment, such as their execution required. He formed plans of aggrandizement under circumstances which disabled him from protecting and preserving what he already

possessed. He was cruel, treacherous, and vindictive. His posterity had to lament for ages that he exposed France to the incursions of the northern depredators, to whose aggressions he displayed an almost entire indifference.

Under his reign the feodal power commenced in France, which had been already portioned out into several territories, constituting so many appanages, or dependencies, distributed among those by whom the empire had been founded;—or, in other words, among the military who had contributed to the conquests atchieved by the different sovereigns. The proprietors of these possessions, who were named *leudes*, or counts, were exempted from every tribute, and were only to be called on for their military services. These fiefs had hitherto been transferable; but Charles the Bald, through a mistaken policy, rendered them hereditary. He thus separated from the royal domains properties which, it is true, were invariably to belong to the distinguished military chiefs, but neither of which was originally intended to enter into the succession of one and the same family. This new regulation was the necessary result of the right of primogeniture he wished to establish, for the succession of the kings of France. Conjointly with his two brothers, he established, in an assembly held at Mersen, the regulation that the children should, for the future, inherit the sceptre of their fore-fathers, according to their seniority. This was a very important change in the political constitution. On the death of each sovereign, the throne had heretofore been considered as vacant. The prince who was the most fortunate, the most powerful, or the most adroit, provided he was of

the blood royal, might fill it, to the detriment not only of the eldest, but of all the children of the defunct monarch. Charles, to establish the supreme power, and render it hereditary, did not hesitate to accord the same privilege to all his vassals, who, following the example of their monarch, made an absolute property of the lands they held for life. The law which made an inheritance of the throne, stamped the same character on all their possessions; and the government founded on the law of the fiefs was established in France, to the evident detriment of the regal authority. Several of the seigneurs became so powerful as to refuse to submit to all earthly domination, declaring in their acts that they held of God and of their sword alone. Hence were derived the *alleux*, or allodial lands of free tenure.

Louis II., the son of Charles, surnamed the *Stammerer*, did not receive the crown, but made a purchase of it. To obtain the suffrages of the grandees, he bestowed on the first comers the abbies, marquisates, counties, and governments, without any reservation; insomuch that, having entirely exhausted his bounties, those who were the last to present themselves, were disappointed in their expectations. They murmured, and insisted that he had not a right to dispose of these possessions, without the consent of the general assemblies. His party prevailed, however, by the force of numbers. At his coronation he took a solemn oath to maintain the privileges of the grandees, and to respect the donations he had made to them.

The vassals of Louis soon became his equals. Boson, one of the most formidable of the chief-

tains, who had been created viceroy of Italy, and count of Provence, carried off the daughter of his sovereign with impunity, and afterwards espoused her. He next established the kingdom of Arles, which comprehended Provence, the Dauphiné, the Lyonnais, and Franche Comté, thus becoming a real monarch, but without inheriting the title. Louis, who was afraid of being attacked and dethroned, was desirous to live with such vassals in a perfect state of harmony. He therefore maintained the peace with his neighbours, and did not attend to the disturbances which the wish of the pope to create him emperor against his will, had excited. The latter persisting obstinately in the political choice he had made, was attacked by a contrary faction, who declared in favour of the king of Bavaria. The sovereign pontiff was imprisoned by this party; but contrived to make his escape into France, with the most valuable of the treasures of St. Peter.

On his arrival he was equally assiduous in paying his court to Boson and to the king of France, tendering to the former a crown, and to the latter the imperial diadem, while he himself had been hurled from his throne. The imperial dignities were not, however, re-established, till after a lapse of three years, when each of the competitors was deceased. In the interim, the pope held a council at Troyes, and promulgated a canon which was an extraordinary testimony of the weakness of the royal authority in those times. It enacted that the potentates of the earth should in future treat the bishops with the highest respect, and should consequently never presume to

be seated in their presence, unless with their permission. In breaking up the council, he presented to the church a donation, which he said had been made by Charles the Bald, in favour of St. Peter. It consisted of several rich monasteries, and of the abbies of St. Denis and St. Germain. To this alienation of the royal domains the nobility would not, however, consent.

Louis had in vain dismembered a part of his kingdom, to render several particular governments hereditary. It was impossible to satisfy all the claimants; and the kingdom was again a prey to tumult and insurrection. Suspicions were entertained that he was taken off by poison. At the time of his decease the queen was pregnant, and was afterwards delivered of a son, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, under the name of Charles the Simple. By a former marriage, he had had two sons, Louis and Carloman, who became his successors. He reigned only two years.

Conformably to the laws of the succession which had been recently established, the crown devolved on Louis, the eldest son; but the grandees having convoked an assembly, it was agreed that, to prevent any contention between him and his brother, the diadem should be worn by both. They lived and reigned together in a most perfect union, and displayed some of the qualities of their valorous ancestor Pepin. They, in some measure, put a stop to the ravages of the northern brigands, fifty thousand of whom had entered by the river Somme, and had taken Corbie, Amiens, and several other places situated on its banks. Louis defeated them in an engagement

near Courtray, but having neglected to follow up his victory, they rallied, and made incursions into Picardy.

The reign of these two princes was short. Louis was killed by a singular accident. In pursuing a young girl who endeavoured to escape from him, he struck his head against a door, and was killed by the blow. Carloman survived him but a short time. In hunting a wild boar, one of his attendants lanced at the enraged animal a spear, which took a wrong direction, and wounded the monarch in the thigh. From an apprehension that this unlucky accident might be interpreted into a crime on the part of the attendant, Carloman circulated a report that he had been wounded by the wild boar. He died, at the age of twenty-eight years, on the seventh day after he had received the wound, still preserving, with a noble generosity, an impenetrable silence as to its real cause.

As neither of the above princes left behind them any male issue, the inheritance fell to Charles, the posthumous son of Louis II. As he was, however, too young to govern a nation assailed by foreign foes, and a prey to intestine broils, the grandees assembled, and elected, according to the ancient usage, the emperor Charles, to whom they made a tender of the crown. He accepted it; but governed with so much imbecility, that he was shortly after dethroned by those to whom he was indebted for his elevation. He was succeeded by Charles, surnamed the Corpulent, who brought on the country all the vengeance of the northern invaders, by the dastardly assassination of their chief, whom he drew into an ambush, on

pretext of a private conference. They advanced to Paris, to which they laid siege; but were repulsed by Eudes, the son of Robert the Valiant.

On the death of Charles the Corpulent, the immense territories he possessed were divided. Germany was separated from the French domination, and became a distinct empire. A part of Italy conferred the sovereign authority on Berenger, duke of Frioul; and another part on Guy, the son of Lambert, duke of Spoleta. This dismemberment was the more remarkable, as it gave a new form to the feodal system, and broke all the bonds of union by which a vast and well-compacted body had been cemented.

In France, the bishops and lords, in a parliament holden at Compiegne, unanimously chose for their sovereign Eudes, count of Paris. They had not forgotten that his father, Robert the Valiant had been slain in attacking the northern brigands, whom the son had just repulsed with an incredible valour. He had saved Paris; and was best calculated to defend the monarchy against the enemies by whom it was surrounded. Eudes displayed on this occasion great generosity. Being forced to accept the diadem, he protested that he received it on no other condition than to restore it to the youthful Charles, when he should be of an age to govern the state. During nine years of calamity, he sustained France, and displayed on all occasions of difficulty a profound intelligence, and the most heroic courage. When his glorious career was about to terminate, he solicited the grandees in favour of Charles, whom they consented to establish on the throne of his ancestors.

At the time of the death of Eudes, the irruptions of the northern nations had in a great measure ceased; and those who had made good their footing were confined to the frontiers. In acknowledging Charles the Simple, on whom that epithet was certainly well bestowed, as their sovereign, the nobility appear to have had a view to their own independence. The choice of this weak monarch was highly consonant to their pretensions, which were become greater than ever. The contempt in which they held his person was but too well justified. He ceded Normandy to the usurpers, by whom it had been so often ravaged; and gave up Britany, which became a mesne-tenure to the crown. If the nation had not kept a watchful eye over him, he would have yielded up all his possessions. He was deposed; and the crown bestowed on Robert, the brother of Eudes, a valiant and accomplished prince. On the death of the latter, who was slain in carrying on a successful war against the invaders of the French territory, Charles was equally unsuccessful. His partizans levied an army, which was cut in pieces by the forces of Hugo, the son of the deceased Robert.

This young prince, surnamed the great, would not accept the crown, which was bestowed on Raoul, duke of Burgundy. The latter maintained a successful war against the Danes, by whom Aquitain was ravaged, as well as against the other enemies of the state, and, by several important and decisive victories, appeared to have annihilated even the name of his competitor. The unfortunate Charles, possessing neither courage nor foresight, was the dupe of circumstances, and

terminated his earthly career in a prison. His son Louis, then an infant, was conveyed in safety to England, on which account he afterwards obtained the surname of Outremer. He was recalled on the death of Raoul, who did not leave any children behind him, and placed under the guardianship of Hugo, now surnamed the Great. He was invested with the title of king, but *could* merely be considered as an hereditary chief whom the dukes and counts had been pleased to elect. In the different territories they were absolute and independent. Such, indeed, was the form of the feodal government, that the real sovereignty *could* be bestowed on no other than a great and exalted character, such as Hugo Capet, who knew how to respect the prevailing customs and usages, without daring to infringe the rights of any one of those, who, collectively, could dethrone him at *their* will. Accordingly, after the demise of Louis d'Outremer, who was killed by a fall from his horse; of Lothaire, the nature of whose death is uncertain; and of Louis V. who was poisoned by his queen; all of them events which succeeded each other with great rapidity, Hugo Capet, the first of the third race of French monarchs, received the crown. The house of Charlemagne thus became extinct, after having filled the throne during a space of two hundred and thirty-six years, and after having formed three royal branches in Italy, Germany, and France.

It remains here to say a few words of the northern plunderers, to whose incursions and depredations France had been so long exposed. They came from Denmark, Sweden, Norway,

and other countries still more distant, to seek a milder and more genial climate than their own. They were inured to fatigue, and possessed of great bravery, but would never conform to treaties, which they eluded with a particular address. They did not cease their ravages until they had obtained the quiet possession of a part of the kingdom of Neustria, which they cultivated with an assiduity that rendered it by far the most flourishing territory of France. When they laid siege to Paris, they displayed an industry equal to their intrepidity. They were not strangers to the battering ram, balista, and other machines and warlike implements employed by the ancient Romans. Their warlike apparatus was dragged on wheels, which enabled them to assail the besieged with a more powerful effect.

At the period to which we are now arrived, an epidemic worm disease, the effects of which were so dreadful that it was considered as a punishment from heaven, and which made a havoc similar to that of the plague, broke out in France, and in several other parts of Europe.

CHAPTER III.

Establishment of the third race of French Sovereigns—Origin of the Crusades which were successively undertaken—Invasion of England by William of Normandy.

A. D. 987. WHEN Hugo Capet ascended the throne, the succession in reality belonged to Charles, duke of Lorraine, the uncle of Louis V. The grandees, however, by

whom the nation was represented, declared that prince incapable of holding the reins of the government; and, by virtue of this decision, his competitor was crowned at Reims without any opposition.

The duke of Lorraine, being apprised of this event, entered France with a very powerful army, in which he had a great number of German auxiliaries, to obtain by force what was refused to his birth. He soon made himself master of the cities of Laon and Reims; but instead of following up his victories, suffered his troops to distribute themselves over the surrounding territory, which they laid waste. Hugo Capet, having collected together all the troops he could bring into the field, took advantage of the imprudence of his rival, defeated his army, and obliged him to fortify himself in the city of Laon. Being reduced to the last extremity, and driven to despair, Charles made so successful a sortie, that he routed the army of Capet. In this state the fortune of war remained for some time uncertain, until at length Charles was betrayed by one of his courtiers, and, having been made prisoner, together with the whole of his family, was kept in close confinement at Orleans, where he died. His children shared the same fate, with the exception of a daughter, who, as she could not have any pretension to the crown, was liberated.

Hugo Capet insensibly changed the form of the government, and enacted several salutary laws and ordonnances. He established his residence in Paris, which had been deserted by his predecessors for upwards of two hundred years,

and thus rendered it the capital of the monarchy. He delegated a portion of the supreme authority to his son Robert, whom he was very fond of exhibiting to the people, with all the distinctive marks of royalty with which he refused to decorate himself. Even on the great and solemn occasions when pomp is so essentially necessary to the monarch, to inspire the subject with respect and awe, he could not be prevailed on to wear either the crown, sceptre, or royal purple. It is recorded in history, that he had consulted a soothsayer, who told him that his family would reign for several generations. By renouncing the insignia of royalty, he fancied that he could bring this descent one degree forward. The event has proved that this *precaution* was unnecessary. His family occupied the throne of France during eight centuries; and it remains to be seen, at the present time, whether the monarchy may not one day be re-established in its favour, to the destruction of the most odious of usurpations.

It is more probable, however, that this modesty was put on by Capet, to the end that he might not alarm his vassals, who were as rich and powerful as himself. He manifested, indeed, on every occasion, a consummate policy, by which he contrived to disguise his ambition, and by sacrificing its idle decorations, to establish it on a real and solid basis. He was considered by the grandees as a man of a mild and pacific disposition, because he was constrained, by the existing circumstances, to leave them in the possession of their ancient independence. It became the interest of his successors to abolish this inde-

pendence ; to effect which, as will appear in the sequel, they followed up a regular and profoundly meditated system.

Hugo Capet was interred, without pomp, in the abbey of St. Denis, and was succeeded by his son Robert, surnamed the pious, who had, to the detriment of his own happiness, as well as of the national prosperity, espoused Bertha, the daughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy. This princess being related to him in the fourth degree of consanguinity, it pleased the sovereign pontiff to annul the marriage. His anathema was pronounced ; Robert was not only enjoined to separate from his queen, but condemned to seven years of penitence ; and the archbishop, by whom the marriage had been solemnized, was, as well as the bishops who had consented to it, ordered to proceed to Rome, and demand absolution.

The churchmen obeyed, and set forward on their journey ; but the king, who was not equally tractable, remained tranquilly in the society of his queen. The fulminations of the Vatican were now issued ; and the decree of excommunication set the whole of the kingdom in flames. The interdict became general ; the mass was no longer celebrated ; and, which was still more disastrous, the sacrament was refused to the sick, and the dead left without burial. A general confusion ensued. There were no longer any regulations of police ; and, as all alike dreaded to approach the person of one who had been excommunicated, the king was abandoned. He had to command, however, the services of two faithful domestics, who passed through the fire whatever he had

touched; and threw to the dogs the offal which came from his table.

In this perturbed state of affairs, the grandees interposed, and obliged Robert to divorce himself from his queen. The interdict was thus taken off, and the tranquillity of the state re-established.

This was the first essay of the pretensions of the court of Rome, which saw that the moment was arrived when it was expedient to subject the crowns of all the potentates of Europe, to he tiara of the sovereign pontiff. Robert made a public confession of his crime, which he expiated by a solemn penitence; and received absolution in the mode prescribed by the ecclesiastical law. He formed a new alliance, and espoused Constance, the daughter of the count of Provence, a haughty and imperious female, who took advantage of the ascendancy she had acquired over him, to torment him for the remainder of his life. She possessed all the atrocity of Fredegonde, without inheriting any of her talents. She caused the favourite of Robert, the grand master of the palace, to be assassinated, because he paid a greater respect to his sovereign than to herself. Such was her intolerance, in the persecution of a religious sect, whose tenets were similar to those of the Manicheans, that she caused thousands of the individuals who had embraced these doctrines, to be tied to the stake, and burned, as heretics. These cruelties were exercised with a particular severity in the province of Languedoc, where the protestant faith has since constantly predominated over catholicism. Her next measure was an at-

tempt to promote a disunion between her sons-in-law, the offspring of the former marriage, by dispossessing the elder of the inheritance, to bestow it on his younger brother.

The political events of this reign were but few, on this account, that the weight of the feodal government served as a counterpoise, to maintain the public tranquillity. A dreadful famine was, however, substituted to the horrors of war, and desolated France, as well as the rest of Europe. The dead were taken out of their graves, to serve as food for the living. The passengers were intercepted on the highways, and carried into the woods to be devoured by the famishing peasantry. In the city of Tournus human flesh was publicly exposed for sale; and in the vicinity of Macon a tavern keeper massacred the poor in the night time, to be enabled to furnish a repast for his guests on the day following. There was not only a dearth of corn; but a want of pasture, occasioned by cold and uninterrupted rains, had been fatal to the cattle, which perished from the same cause that prevented the seeds from germinating.

Robert was strongly addicted to bigotry and superstition, but possessed not that universal charity which the true apostolic religion so earnestly points out. After the siege of Avalon, the inhabitants of which place had defended themselves with great bravery, he ordered a part of them to be hanged, and the others to be sent into exile. He is said to be the first of the kings of France who had received the especial and supernatural gift of curing scrofulous affections, from thence denominated the king's evil, by touching the sick,

and pronouncing these words; *The king touches thee, and may God cure thee.* He laid the first stone of the cathedral church of Notre Dame at Paris, on the ruins of a temple which had been consecrated to Jupiter, by the watermen of the Seine, in the reign of the emperor Tiberius.

On the demise of this monarch, the widow was desirous to bestow the crown on his second son, Robert, alleging that such had been the dying wish of the father. So powerful a party was thus formed against Henry, the eldest son, that he was obliged to seek shelter in Normandy, where he implored the help of duke Robert, the second of that name. The duke accompanied him to the capital of France, with an army by which the opposite faction was appalled. This army ravaged the territory of the rebels, burning the towns and villages, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. It was the duke's maxim to carry on the war in this manner. It was necessary, he said, to terminate it speedily, by resorting to the most violent measures, or to abstain from declaring it altogether. On this account he was nicknamed *Robert the Devil.*

On the death of the queen dowager, which happened soon after, the two brothers were reconciled. The duchy of Burgundy was assigned to Robert; and Henry, who was invested with the sovereign authority, carried on several successful wars against his mutinous subjects, the counts of Champaign, Troyes, and Chartres. He had no sooner subdued these refractory spirits, than a younger brother, who had not been considered in the succession, backed his claim to an inheritance by a powerful army which he had

contrived to levy. This army was defeated; and he himself perished in a second attempt to assert his alleged rights. Henry was thus freed from all his enemies.

Robert the Devil, the powerful protector of Henry, made a pilgrimage to the holy land, in concert with several other potentates whom a new impulsion had carried thither. On his return he fell sick, and appointed as his successor an illegitimate son, whose mother was the daughter of a dealer in skins belonging to the town of Falaise. This bastard was no other than the celebrated prince afterwards known by the name of William the conqueror. On the death of Robert, the Norman grandees instigated the people not to acknowledge him, on account of his illegitimacy. Henry, who had not forgotten the good offices of the father, took up his cause, and invaded Normandy with three thousand men only. With this inconsiderable force he defeated an army of twenty thousand Normans. His affection for William was, however, but of a short duration. After having defended him with so much gallantry, he did not hesitate to attack his dominions; but this step merely served to consolidate the power of his heroical adversary. Such was the hatred which ensued between the French and Normans, that it laid the foundation of long and obstinate wars, which did not cease until after the latter had accomplished the successful invasion of England.

Henry, although not advanced in years, was sensible of his approaching dissolution. He had espoused a Russian princess, to avoid falling into the error which had been so prejudicial to his

father, by contracting a marriage within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the canonical laws. By this princess he had three sons, the eldest of whom was crowned when only seven years of age. Baudouin, count of Flanders, a man universally esteemed, was declared regent, and governed under the title of marquis of France, on the death of Henry, which happened in his fifty-sixth year. He was an active sovereign, who knew how to maintain, and even extend his authority; but his enterprises against the duke of Normandy were injurious to his repose, his honour, and his best interests.

Philip I. his eldest son and successor, was merely a spectator of the events of his reign, which was of a long duration. As he had not any share in the political events which then fixed the attention of Europe, such as the conquest of England by William of Normandy, the enterprises of the popes, and the origin of the celebrated crusades, his name simply serves to mark the epoch of the interesting occurrences which took place in the interval between his birth and his death. He had a passion for Bertrade, wife of the count of Anjou, whom he enticed from her husband. Being anxious to espouse her, he forged a genealogy by which he attempted to prove that his queen Bertha was related to him in a degree which set aside the marriage. A divorce ensued; and as Philip was entirely governed by the caprices of Bertrade, his new consort, he became utterly contemptible in the view of his subjects.

For some time the regent governed the state with dignity and discretion; but at length his

policy forsook him. He did not perceive that the elevation of William to the throne of England, would oppose to France a powerful rival, capable of depriving her for centuries of a real superiority. Instead of resisting the aggrandizement of so formidable a vassal, he permitted William to levy troops in France, and even supplied him with money to further his designs.

The only appellation by which the conqueror of England had been hitherto known, was that *of* William *the bastard.* He himself introduced it into all his acts. Although a great man, and a wise legislator, he was not beloved by the English, over whom he reigned. He laid the foundations of their commerce, notwithstanding, and gave them laws which, having been since perfectionated, are become the admiration of the world. A rivality could not fail to ensue between the two nations; and, accordingly, Philip of France, or rather his regent, encouraged the revolt *of* Robert, the son of the conqueror, on whom the latter had bestowed Normandy. A trivial circumstance was afterwards the occasion of a most inveterate hatred between the two sovereigns. William had become so corpulent, that he was for a great length of time confined to his bed. "When," said Philip, "will this *big* man be de-"livered?" To this jest William replied in the following terms: "When I am to be churched, "it shall be in the cathedral of Notre Dame in "Paris, surrounded by ten thousand spears, in "the guise of tapers." He did not confine himself to threats, but carried them into execution, and marked his resentment by the most dreadful ravages. He even penetrated to the gates of

Paris, to which city he was about to set fire, when a fall from his horse rescued France from the calamities by which she was threatened.

At the above time the pretensions of the court of Rome were highly exorbitant. Pope Gregoire VII. a man of an obscure birth, but possessing great talents, carried the spirit of papal domination so far, that the crowned heads of Europe became, in a manner, his vassals. He deposed and excommunicated the emperor of Germany, in consequence of his having conferred several benefices without his consent. Such was his ascendancy over Philip, that he dictated to him, on every occasion, the line of conduct he was to pursue. The very presence of his legates was sufficient to impress an universal terror. To one sovereign he sent a message, "that he was unworthy to wield the sceptre." To another, "that his life was devoted to the most infamous pursuits, and that therefore, unless he should correct himself, he should not hesitate to depose him." To form a just appreciation, however, of the extent of the papal authority, it will be necessary to take a summary view of the crusades, and of the powerful ascendancy they had in directing the arms of Europe against Asia.

Pope Gregoire VII. having formed the plan of the conquest of the holy land and its dependencies, addressed a letter to the different sovereigns of Europe, whom he considered as his vassals, observing to them that, as christians, they could not leave in the possession of idolaters the city in which our Saviour was born. The first impulsion being thus given, his successor Urban II. felt an equal zeal for the christian

cause. He engaged a devout pilgrim to travel over every part of Europe, to paint, in the most glowing colours, the sufferings of the christians who were held captive in Palestine, and the profanations of which the infidels were guilty. This pilgrim, who travelled bare-headed, and with naked arms and legs, held in his hand a large crucifix, to which he pointed with the most animated gestures. He soon drew about him an immense body of enthusiasts. Princes, noblemen, artizans, peasants, monks, and even women, manifested an equal anxiety to bend their steps to the east, and deliver their brethren from their captivity.

The pope, being informed of the progress made by his missionary, proceeded to France. On his journey, he had an opportunity to witness the preparations which were every where making for the conquest of Palestine. He held a convocation at Clermont in Auvergne, in which he declared the war to be sacred, and promised a remission of their sins to all those who should engage in it. The first crusade was accordingly published; and it was enjoined that the only distinction to be worn by the devout pilgrims was to consist of a cross fastened to the shoulder.

It has been calculated that five millions of souls embarked in this expedition. They were formed into three divisions, the first of which was commanded by the papal missionary, Peter the hermit. It was composed of an unruly and undisciplined populace, whose ranks were so much thinned by every species of immorality, that not the one half passed through Germany and Italy. Before this division could reach the strait of Gib-

raltar, it was in a great measure broken up and annihilated.

The two other divisions, which comprehended the nobility and soldiery, were less tumultuous in their march, but were cut off by sickness, hunger, and fatigue; insomuch that when the troops were mustered, and the siege of Nicea about to be undertaken, not more than six hundred thousand infantry, and a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry could be found. They were afterwards reduced, when before Jerusalem, the important object of their confederation, to twenty-one thousand five hundred fighting men. That city sustained the first assault, but was carried on the second, with an indiscriminate slaughter of the whole of its Mahomedan inhabitants. Even the children were not spared. A few days after, Godfrey of Bouillon was declared king of Jerusalem, an empty title which descended to his posterity, and subsisted for ninety years.

Having thus given a brief sketch of the first of the crusades, of which there were seven in the space of two centuries, we proceed to Louis VI., surnamed the Corpulent, who succeeded his father Philip I., and was crowned at Orleans. At that time Paris was blockaded by the troops of several of the petty states, whose rulers set the sovereign at defiance. They were, however, gradually subdued, and a kind of municipal government substituted to the feodal tenures, which suffered greatly in these struggles with the regal authority.

Louis was not equally successful in the wars in which he was engaged with the king of England, by whom his army was defeated in the battle of Brenneville. In his flight, an Englishman seized

[illegible] exclaiming, "the king [illegible] "The king's never taken," said Lou[illegible] [illegible] of chess;" and, having p[illegible] [illegible] his enemy dead at [illegible]

[illegible] sovereign, possessed [illegible] and activity. On [illegible] the followi[illegible] [illegible] "Recollect, my son, th[illegible] [illegible] a public charge, [illegible] a very strict a[illegible] [illegible] who makes kings and judg[illegible]

[illegible] the Young, had no soon[illegible] [illegible] that he was openly attack[illegible] [illegible] the count of Champaig[illegible] [illegible] so far as to obtain fro[illegible] [illegible] on all the citie[illegible] [illegible] belonging to h[illegible] [illegible] affronts, dre[illegible] [illegible] of Louis, who marched int[illegible] [illegible] a powerful army, an[illegible] [illegible] the city of Vitry, found no r[illegible] [illegible] the parochial church, in whic[illegible] [illegible] had fortified themselve[illegible] [illegible] of the soldiery. The churc[illegible] [illegible] by order of Louis, and thos[illegible] [illegible] in the flames. Th[illegible] [illegible] this act of cruelt[illegible] [illegible] crusade, to which Loui[illegible] [illegible] by Bernard, a priest. The [illegible] held at Vezelai; and so grea[illegible] [illegible] fervour, that the women in[illegible] [illegible] following their husbands. [illegible] was the queen. This pious

exaltation was not confined to France, but spread to Germany, and other parts of Europe. The emperor Conrad III. set out about the same time for Palestine, with an army of upwards of a hundred thousand men.

The incapacity of Louis was completely manifested on this occasion. His troops were defeated, and dispersed, and he himself fell into the hands of the Saracens. He was liberated by the bravery of the king of Sicily, and returned to France with the remnant of his army. He met shortly after the misfortune to lose the very capable minister who had governed in his absence, and, being left without a guide, committed a thousand imprudences. His divorce from his queen, who had been convicted of infidelity in Palestine, was not the smallest of his blunders. He restored to her, unconditionally, Guyenne and Poitou, which she had brought to him in marriage; and these provinces were, six weeks after, transferred to Henry, duke of Normandy, the presumptive heir of the crown of England, who thus possessed the fifth part of the French monarchy, and was enabled to make head against the remainder.

Louis made several pilgrimages, and among others, visited the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. This happened in 1180, nine years after the murder of the saint. In one of these pilgrimages Louis died, and was buried in the abbey of Barbeau, which he had founded. His tomb was opened, in 1566, by Charles IX., and the body found in a high state of preservation. On the fingers were several gold rings, which, having been taken off, were worn by

on his horse's bridle, exclaiming, "the king is taken." "The king is never taken," said Louis, "not even in a game of chess;" and, having pronounced these words, laid his enemy dead at his feet.

He was an accomplished sovereign, possessed of great energy, courage, and activity. On his death-bed, he addressed to his son the following remarkable words: "Recollect, my son, that "royalty is nothing more than a public charge, of "which you will have to render a very strict ac- "count to him who makes kings and judges "them."

Louis VII. surnamed the Young, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he was openly attacked by one of his vassals, the count of Champaign, who carried his rebellion so far as to obtain from the pope a decree of interdiction on all the cities, towns, villages, and houses belonging to his sovereign. This, and other similar affronts, drew down the vengeance of Louis, who marched into Champaign at the head of a powerful army, and, having surprised the city of Vitry, found no resistance, unless in the parochial church, in which thirteen hundred persons had fortified themselves, to shun the fury of the soldiery. The church was set fire to, by order of Louis, and those who were within perished in the flames. The remorse which followed this act of cruelty gave rise to the second crusade, to which Louis was strongly urged by Bernard, a priest. The convocation was held at Vezelai; and so great was the national fervour, that the women in general insisted on following their husbands. Among the number was the queen. This pious

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Charles together with a gold chain which was found in the tomb.

On his accession to the throne, Philip II., styled the August, published three edicts, the first of which condemned all heretics to be burned. The second sentenced all those who should be guilty of blasphemy to be drowned; and the third ordered all jugglers and mountebanks to leave the kingdom.

The Jews, who were very rich and numerous, and who carried on their old trade of usury, were arrested in their synagogues. Their immoveable property was confiscated, and sold for the benefit of the king. All the debts which had been contracted with them were declared null; and they were banished, with permission to carry with them their moveable property. They contrived, however, to conceal their money, which quitted the kingdom never to be brought back.

The remnants of the crusaders, those at least who had not any habitation, or any visible means of existence, on their return from Palestine, had formed themselves into troops of banditti, who plundered the christians in their native country, with as little ceremony as they had before plundered the Turks. Philip marched against them, and, with the aid of the newly-established municipalities, subdued them. His attention was soon after directed to the occurrences in the east, which were of more importance. The dissensions and jealousies of the crusaders had favoured the views of the emperor Saladin, who had retaken Jerusalem, and had put to the sword the knights templars and hospitalers by whom that city was defended. On the receipt of this intelligence the

pope died of grief. The kings of England and France suddenly laid aside their mutual animosities, and formed a third crusade, which was better regulated than the preceding ones. The commanders of this expedition were Frederic I., emperor of Germany; Richard, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, who had recently succeeded to the throne of England; and Philip the August, of France. Richard, who was ardent and impetuous, possessed all the qualities which can adorn a hero; while Philip, who possessed a greater share of prudence and policy, was less enthusiastic in his views. When they took leave of each other, on setting out for Palestine, they were apparently cemented by the strongest ties of friendship; but the concord which was established between them was not of a lasting duration.

They agreed to proceed to their destination by sea; and Philip was the first to land. He defeated the Saracens; took possession of several places; and was about to besiege Acre. In the mean time Richard, who had been detained in Sicily, was shipwrecked near the coast of Cyprus. The sovereign of that island, instead of affording him succour, seized on three of his ships, and imprisoned the crews. This incensed Richard so much, that he landed his troops on the island, took the capital, and made the monarch prisoner.

He had scarcely reached the camp of the crusaders, when Philip regarded him with a jealous eye. Richard had been heard to say, that however his rival might press the siege of Acre, the glory of its surrender would belong to him alone. On his side, Philip charged him with enlisting under his banners the best of his soldiers;

an accusation which was certainly founded, as Richard did not spare his treasures in recruiting his army, while Philip had nothing to bestow on his followers, whose ranks were daily thinned. It was, besides, impossible that the dissembling and crafty character of the latter could long conciliate itself with the frank and generous nature of Richard.

The capture of Acre gave infinite pleasure to Philip, who was tired of the war, and desirous to return to his own dominions. He pretended that the air of Palestine did not agree with his health; but the truth was, that he was jealous of the glory which Richard had acquired, and of his superiority, of which he was but too sensible. Notwithstanding the solemn engagement by which he had bound himself, he was also desirous to return home, that he might profit by the absence of his rival to attack his dominions. Among other charges which he brought against Richard, he accused him of having instigated to his murder the old man of the mountain.

The history of this atrocious character demands some mention. He inhabited Phœnicia, where he braved the authority of the caliphs of Egypt, and of the kings of Jerusalem. In waging war against the neighbouring potentates, he depended entirely on the resource of the poignard. His fanatical assassins were trained from their earliest infancy to the bloody task he imposed on them, and hastened to execute his commands with a promptitude and zeal which nothing but the persuasion they entertained, that the blood they were about to spill would be grate-

ful to heaven, could have inspired. They were frequently known to pierce through the armed ranks assembled in the field, to reach the victim at whom their poignard was to be aimed; and, when taken alive, to smile at their tortures, and mock their executioners.

Richard being now sole master of the operations, performed prodigies of valour, and displayed all his knowledge of the art of war. He defeated Saladin, who had been hitherto considered as invincible; and rescued from destruction the city of Jaffa, in which there were a great number of women and sick who were about to be put to death. With an army of five thousand men only, he defeated twelve thousand Saracens, forming the escort of a caravan of seven or eight hundred camels laden with provisions, of which the crusaders at that time stood in great need. In the midst of his victorious career, he was informed that Philip had drawn over to his side his own brother, and that a plan had been formed between them to seize on England, on the one hand, and Normandy, on the other.

He was thus forced to conclude a truce with Saladin, and to abandon the siege of Jerusalem. Having procured an asylum for the christians in the different cities of Syria, he set out from thence on his return to England, putting on board his large ships, his treasures and retinue, and embarking, himself, on board a light vessel for the sake of expedition. Having been shipwrecked between Venice and Aquileia, he changed his purpose, and set out by land for Germany, having his face besmeared with soot, the better to disguise himself. He was hated by the

Germans, on account of the disputes which had arisen at the siege of Acre; and, having been waylaid, was taken in a cottage near Vienna, while employed to turn the spit at the kitchen fire. He was bound in chains by the duke of Austria, who sold him as a slave to the emperor Henry VI. From this captivity he was at length delivered on paying a ransom of fifty thousand marks of silver. As soon as Philip was apprized of this, he wrote a letter to Richard's brother, John, surnamed Lackland, in which he desired him to take care of himself, as the devil was unchained.

On his return to England, Richard prepared to punish Philip for his perfidy, and a disastrous war ensued between the two nations. In the successful prosecution of this war Richard died, and was succeeded by his brother John, whose pretensions to the crown of England were, however, disputed by his nephew Arthur, aided by Philip. Arthur having been made prisoner, and put to death by his inhuman uncle, the latter was summoned by Philip to appear, in his quality of duke of Normandy, before a tribunal of his peers. On his refusal Philip attacked and subdued the provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, which were then held by the English, and united Normandy to the crown of France three hundred years after it had been detached from it by the incapacity of Charles the Simple. Guyenne was the only province which remained to king John.

While Philip prepared a powerful fleet and army for the invasion of England, and while the success of this expedition was in a manner en-

sured by the general discontents, and by the detestation in which John was held by all the orders of the state, pope Innocent III. was plotting, on his side, to render England a fief of the church. He excommunicated John, declaring that his crown was forfeited, and calling on his subjects to declare against him. John, who was now driven to despair, had no other resource than to surrender his crown to the pope's legate, Pandolphus, by whom it was restored to him on his signing and sealing an act which purported that he held it of the holy see. This submission, on the part of John to the Papal authority, was notified by the pope's legate to Philip, who was constrained to give up every idea of the intended conquest of England.

A powerful league was shortly after formed against Philip, whose lust of dominion had given great umbrage to the neighbouring potentates. At the head of this league were the emperor and the king of England, aided by the united forces of the dukes of Brabant and Lorraine, and those of the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Nevers. Two very formidable allied armies were thus assembled. Philip having sent his son Louis into Anjou, proceeded himself into Flanders, where he encountered the emperor Otho, at Bovines, between Lille and Tournay. A dreadful conflict ensued, which lasted for five hours, and was nearly fatal to Philip, who was wounded, and unhorsed. He was rescued by two of his knights; and victory at length declared in his favour. The emperor fled; his standard, in which was displayed the Imperial eagle, was torn in pieces; and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, together with three other very powerful grandees,

four German princes, twenty-five noblemen carrying banners, and an infinite number of officers and knights, made prisoners.

After this victory, Philip made his triumphal entry into Paris, with the count of Flanders chained to his car. In England, the dastardly conduct of John, in the prosecution of the war, occasioned great discontents. On this, and other accounts, he was compelled by his barons to sign the Magna Charta, the foundation of British liberties. Having afterwards violated his promise, he was dethroned, and Louis, the son and heir of Philip, was invited to repair to London, where he was proclaimed. He was very soon, however, obliged to resign his pretensions to the infant son of John, who was seated on the throne, on his father's death.

About this time the fourth crusade was undertaken. It terminated by the capture of Constantinople, which transferred the empire over the Greek church to the Latins. Baudouin, the new count of Flanders, was elected emperor; but the union of the Greek and Latin churches did not subsist for more than half a century. The power of the Venetians, who had had the greatest share in the exploits of this crusade, was more solid and durable; insomuch, that from that time Venice became the most flourishing republic in the world.

The inquisition, which was first established in France, from whence it found its way into Spain, Portugal, and Italy, may likewise be dated from the reign of Philip. In Languedoc and Gascony, thousands of sectaries, who had dared to attack several of the most revered dogmas of

the church of Rome, were tried *inquisitorially* by the execrable Simon of Montford, and condemned to perish by the flames. These unfortunate victims may be considered as having laid, at the expence of their lives, the foundations of the protestant religion.

Philip II. died at the age of fifty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. who was scarcely seated on the throne, when he was summoned by the king of England to fulfil the promise he had made, while in London, to surrender, as soon as he should become king of France, Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou. Instead of complying with this demand, he took Rochelle from the English, whose sole possessions on the French territory were now limited to Bourdeaux, and a few other places in Guyenne. A peace was concluded between the two powers, which lasted for four years.

Disturbances were at this time fomented in Flanders by a man who styled himself count Baudouin, and who had so striking a resemblance to the nobleman of that name, that the inhabitants almost unanimously declared in his favour, notwithstanding it had been asserted that the real count, after having been declared emperor of Constantinople, had been put to death by order of the king of Bulgaria, into whose hands he had fallen. The daughter of Baudouin, who governed as countess of Flanders, called Louis to her aid; and by his interposition the insurrection was quelled. The pretended, or real count, for there were many who entertained a persuasion that he was not an impostor, was put to death, after having experienced the most cruel tortures which a

merciless female could devise. This was not the first enormity to which the countess had been instigated by her ambition, as she had refused to pay the ransom of her husband, who was at that time held captive.

After a short reign of three years, Louis VIII. was poisoned at the siege of Avignon, by Thibaut, count of Champaign. This siege, which lasted for three months, had been undertaken against the religious sect before alluded to, the constant object of the persecutions of the popes and kings of France.

Louis IX. commonly styled St. Louis, being an infant at the time of his father's death, the regency was confided to Blanche of Castille, the queen dowager. This was considered as a violation of the Salic law; and accordingly a powerful league was formed by the counts of Boulogne, Champaign, Toulouse, and la Marche, aided by the ambitious countess of Flanders, by whom the queen regent was detested. The latter found an able prime minister in the person of the cardinal legate; and by his policy the league was broken. To thwart the views of the countess of Flanders, who was about to contract a marriage with the count of Brittany, she liberated the count, her husband, from a captivity which had lasted thirteen years, and re-established him in his possessions. Having been afterwards informed that a plot had been set on foot, by this intriguing female, to seize on the person of the young king, she suddenly armed the Parisians, and by the adoption of other prudent measures, counteracted her designs.

Scarcely had Louis attained the age of twenty-

one years, and taken the reins of the government into his own hands, when Henry III. of England demanded the provinces which Louis VIII. had promised to restore. A tender was made of Poitou, and of the best part of Normandy; but this did not satisfy Henry, who resolved to try the issue of a battle. His army was defeated on the banks of the Charente.

Louis had hitherto displayed great wisdom and firmness; but having fallen dangerously sick, he made a vow, that if he should recover his health, he would proceed to Palestine with a powerful army, to exterminate the infidels. This was the sole motive of the crusade which was about to be undertaken. It may be considered as the sixth, there having been another entered on some years before, the issue of which was so contemptible that it scarcely merits a record.

The miscarriages which had attended the preceding expeditions to the holy land, had abated the religious enthusiasm to such a degree, that the subjects of Louis manifested a great reluctance to the new enterprise. His consort, and brothers, did whatever they could to prevail on him to abandon his design. The archbishop of Paris, a virtuous prelate, represented to him that a compliance with his vow would expose his states to invasion, and his subjects to ruin. He had, at the same time, to overcome the repugnance of the grandees, without whose aid it would be impossible to accomplish his design. By the dint, however, of much perseverance and address, he was at length enabled to set out for Asia, accompanied by his queen, and his two brothers, Robert and Charles. The regency hav-

ing been once more confined to the queen dowager, Louis proceeded to Lyons, where he received the benediction of the pope, and, having descended the Rhone, embarked at Aigues Mortes.

Having landed in Egypt, a country the conquest of which had been represented to him as essential to that of Palestine, Damietta was abandoned by the Saracens on the approach of his troops, who advanced to Cairo in full confidence of success. One of the king's brothers, the count d'Artois, having, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the branch of the Nile, which was found to be fordable, to facilitate the passage of the main army, was invested by the Saracens, and, as well as his followers, cut in pieces: Louis, who hastened to his succour, was himself repulsed with a dreadful carnage of his troops, and obliged to fortify himself in the fortress of Damietta. In the mean time famine and disease made a dreadful havoc among the French troops, who were pressed by an enemy infinitely superior to them in force.

Louis having again taken the field, was himself made prisoner, and the whole of his army either killed or taken. He was ransomed by the sultan of Egypt, on condition of surrendering the fortress of Damietta, in which his unfortunate queen was immured; and had, besides, to make a sacrifice of nearly half a million sterling for the ransom of his troops. These conditions, and a truce of five years by which they were followed, were so displeasing to the Saracens, that they put the sultan to death.

Instead of returning to his own dominions,

Louis proceeded to Palestine, where he spent three years in forming alliances, and projecting a new attack on the infidels. When he was told that France was in danger, his reply was: "What "will become of the kingdom of Jerusalem if I "depart?" He was, however, solicited with so much urgency, by the queen dowager, to return to his own dominions, that he was forced to renounce, for the present, his views in Palestine. On his arrival in Paris, he founded there the hospital of the Quinze-Vingts, an institution for the blind, in memory of three hundred of his knights who had had their eyes put out by the Saracens; and had a chapel built to contain the relics he had collected in the holy land.

The English, who had recruited their strength during his absence, imperiously demanded the provinces of which they had been dispossessed. After much contestation with his barons on this subject, it was agreed by Louis, that the provinces of Limousin, Perigord, and Quercy, should be ceded to England, on condition that Henry and his descendants should renounce every further claim.

The attention of the French nation was directed at this period to the conquest of the two Sicilies, by Charles count of Anjou, the younger brother of Louis. The emperor Frederic II. having been excommunicated, and deprived of his Italian possessions, they were offered by pope Urban IV. to any prince of Europe who would undertake to punish Conrad, his son, for his refractory conduct towards the see of Rome. He not only held the above possessions, without the consent of the pope, but attacked and ravaged

the papal territory. Charles took up the quarrel of the church, and having slain Conrad, made a rapid conquest of Friuli, Calabria, and Sicily. He was checked in his career by Conradin, the son of the deceased, a youth aged sixteen years, who signalized his courage on several trying occasions. He was made prisoner by a stratagem, and publicly beheaded, by the order of Charles, in the city of Naples. It will be seen that his death was avenged, fourteen years after, by the massacre of the French, at the famous Sicilian vespers.

Louis, who was resolved on another crusade, was well pleased with the conquests made by his brother Charles, because they facilitated his entry into Egypt, and from thence into Palestine. The preparations having been made, a council was assembled to deliberate on the spot of debarkation. The king of Tunis had sent an ambassador to Louis, to signify that he should have no objection to embrace christianity, provided he could be assured of the support of the French. This was, however, merely a feint to which he resorted, to divert the forces of Sicily, under Charles of Anjou, who meditated an attack on his dominions. The French army, being embarked on board Genoese and Venetian vessels, sailed towards Tunis, but found, on their arrival, the port shut, and the idolaters under arms.

Enraged at this treachery, Louis forced his way into the port, and attacked Carthage, which was at that time a wretched town built on the ruins of the ancient city. The citadel was carried without any resistance, and the troops formed entrenchments to wait for the arrival of the king of Sicily, with a supply of men and provisions. The

resources of Louis's army were nearly exhausted; and while the ranks were daily thinned by disease, the scorching heats, and the want of wholesome sustenance, the king of Tunis, backed by a powerful army, derided the impotent efforts of his adversary. After a most dreadful and agonizing suspense, Charles arrived, but without the expected reinforcements and supplies, which were still on their way. The plague, which had made great ravages among the troops, had introduced itself into the royal tent; and the king of Sicily came just in time to see his brother Louis perish from its attack. Thus terminated the seventh and last of the crusades, with the life of a monarch who possessed many excellent qualities, and who, had it not been for his fanaticism, would have been a blessing to his country.

Philip, styled the Hardy, succeeded his father Louis, whom he had accompanied to Africa, and the miserable remains of whose army he brought back to France. The commencement of his reign was marked by a disastrous event, the massacre of the French in Sicily. Peter III. king of Arragon, had espoused the sister of Conradin, the youth who had been so inhumanly butchered by the command of Charles. The Arragonian monarch considered Sicily as the patrimony of his wife; and, being backed by the pope and the emperor of Constantinople, was determined to avenge, in the execution of his project, the above murder. For this purpose, he employed an intriguing Italian nobleman, named Procido, who, in the disguise of a friar, prepared the Sicilians for a revolt, and bound them by a promise to

murder all the French dwelling on the island, without any distinction of age or sex.

A. D. 1282. Easter Sunday was made choice of for the execution of this bloody purpose. The vespers had no sooner commenced than the signal was given for the butchery, and in less than two hours all the French in Italy were put to death. The assassins did not even spare their own daughters who were pregnant by their enemies. Such was the hatred they entertained against those whom they considered as the invaders of their country! Upwards of eight thousand males were massacred, without reckoning the females and children. In the mean time the king of Arragon, who was on the coast with a powerful fleet, was received with open arms on his landing, and instantly crowned. By this sudden revolution the cruelty and tyranny of Charles met with an exemplary punishment.

He suddenly assembled his forces, and laid siege to Messina, before which place he ineffectually exhausted his means and his strength. His son was made prisoner by the Arragonian monarch; and this disastrous event had so lively an effect on him, that he died of grief.

Philip, to avenge the murder of the French in Sicily, fitted out a fleet, and levied an army which penetrated into Catalonia, to attack the king of Arragon in his hereditary dominions. The troops were accompanied by the pope's legate, who commanded them to put to death indiscriminately the whole of the inhabitants, as they had been excommunicated by the sovereign pontiff. Such was the barbarity of the French

soldiery, that at the siege of Girona, they killed all those who had sought refuge in the church, an asylum which had been hitherto constantly respected.

The enterprise of Philip, which had assumed so menacing an aspect, was confined to the fruitless capture of the above city. The hired vessels belonging to Genoa and Pisa had been imprudently discharged; and the enemy either sunk or captured what remained of the French naval armament. The troops which had been thrown into Girona were reduced to the greatest extremities for the want of provisions. In short, the general failure of the expedition afflicted Philip so much, that he fell into a decay, of which he died at Perpignan. His character was totally the reverse of the surname of *Hardy* which he bore. His weakness made him the ready dupe of every artifice of his courtiers; and he had not any predominant feature in his character, except that of an inordinate passion for amassing wealth.

The interment of this monarch gave rise to a very singular and obstinate dispute. The monks of St. Denis would not allow the heart to be taken out of the body; while the Jacobins asserted, that, conformably to the donation of his successor, they were entitled to keep the heart in their church. The doctors of the Sorbonne referred the question to the pope; and in the mean time the Jacobins, without waiting for his decision, took possession of the object of their wishes.

Philip the Hardy was the first of the sovereigns of France who bestowed patents of nobility on the wealthy citizens. A new class of aristocracy was thus introduced, which at length vied in splendour with the ancient possessors of the territorial properties.

Philip IV. surnamed the Fair, ascended the throne at the age of seventeen years. He had, on the preceding year, espoused the rich heiress of the king of Navarre, who was likewise count of Brie and Champaign. These states, being added to his own dominions, rendered him extremely formidable.

During the first eight years of his reign, France was at peace. Edward I. of England, desirous to prevent every object of contention, paid a visit to the French territory, and did homage for Guienne. The ardent rivality which had so long subsisted between the two nations appeared to have been subdued, when Philip, who was proud, haughty, and jealous, gave the signal for war on a most frivolous pretext. At Bayonne, an English sailor had killed, in a quarrel, a sailor belonging to Normandy. This was the sole pretext for an order issued by the French monarch, without any previous complaint or declaration, to attack, seize, and burn, the English vessels.

The English having retaliated, Philip cited the king of England to appear before the tribunal of the peers of France, to which the latter replied that he had an independent tribunal in London, capable of administering equal justice. The French sovereign still persisting to treat Edward,

in his quality of duke of Guienne, as a vassal of the crown; and, the other as obstinately refusing to cross the seas, in obedience to so peremptory a mandate, war was declared in form, and the conquest of Guienne atchieved by the French.

Adolphus, king of the Romans, declared war against Philip, by whom his ambassadors had been grossly insulted. This was the origin of a new league entered into against France, by England and Germany, aided by the duke of Bar, and the count of Flanders. In the prosecution of the contest which ensued, Philip was extremely successful. He triumphed over Edward and his allies, and conquered Flanders. At the instance, however, of Pope Boniface VIII. he was afterwards obliged to restore Lille, Douay, and Courtray, to the count of Flanders, and to conclude a peace with England. It was likewise decreed by the pope, that Edward, who had lost his queen in the course of the preceding year, should espouse the sister of Philip, who should at the same time bestow the hand of his daughter on Edward's eldest son. These marriages were accordingly solemnized.

Pope Boniface next declared his wish that Philip should instantly set out with all the forces he could assemble, to expel the Saracens from Syria and Palestine. The crusade, indeed, which was published by his holiness was universal, all the princes of Christendom being commanded to contribute towards the expedition, in men and money, in proportion to the extent of their states. The sums which were thus collected were lodged in the coffers of the pope. Philip pleaded urgent business as a pretext for refusing to send an army

to the east; and Boniface, who was aware of this refusal, pronounced a decree of excommunication against him, declaring that his subjects were freed from their allegiance, and that his dominions were the lawful property of any one who would take possession of them.

Philip, in return, charged Boniface with being an impostor, a heretic, and a simoniac, accusing him of every possible crime, and declaring that the see of Rome was vacant. He consequently appealed against the sentence which had been pronounced in the convocation of cardinals at Rome, referring his cause to a future assembly over which a legitimate pope should preside. A trusty agent, of the name of Nogaret, was dispatched to Rome with this appeal, but with secret orders to seize on the person of the pope, and to conduct him to Lyons, to the end that he might be tried by a general convocation of the states. The most considerable personages belonging to the ecclesiastical territory were bought over; and Nogaret was, on his arrival in Italy, supplied with troops by the families of the Colonnas, who had been persecuted by Boniface. Being accompanied by Sciarra Colonna, Nogaret introduced himself into Agnani, in which place the pope considered himself much safer than at Rome, where he was not beloved. At day-break, the papal palace, which was but weakly guarded, was forced. On the first rumour of this attack, Boniface clad himself in his ecclesiastical mantle, and adorned his head with his tiara, seating himself on his throne, with the keys in one hand, and the crosier in the other, the more effectually to awe his assailants. In this posture he waited

either his triumph or his death. Sciarra struck him in the face with his gauntlet, at the same time that the soldiery attacked him by the grossest outrages, and the most insolent language. The pontiff who was perfectly calm, being at length pressed to abdicate the papal throne, replied that he preferred death to this alternative. Then bowing his head, he told the soldiers to strike.

The enraged Sciarra wished to plunge his dagger in his breast; but Nogaret interceded, and protected his person from all further violence. He was made to descend from his throne, and, having been divested of his pontifical ornaments, was seated on a horse without saddle or bridle, with his face turned towards the tail. As it was not possible to conduct him in this way to Lyons, the conspirators deliberated on the step it next behoved them to take. Some were of opinion that he should be shut up in a dungeon to perish with hunger; while others proposed that he should be decapitated, and his head sent to Philip. It was fortunate for Boniface that the decision was put off until the following day. In the course of the night the inhabitants of Agnani, to the amount of six thousand, took up arms for his deliverance, and struck such a panic in Nogaret's troops, that they abandoned their prey.

Being thus delivered from his merciless enemies, Boniface was safely escorted to Rome, where he had no sooner arrived, than he found that his palace had been plundered both by his enemies and his pretended partizans. As all the treasures of the church had been collected in this building, it contained immense riches, such as all the potentates of the earth could not have assem-

bled at the same time. This calamitous event produced a phrenzy which speedily terminated his existence.

Philip had no sooner made his peace with the church, and thoroughly reconciled himself with the successor of Boniface, Pope Clement V., than a revolt broke out among the Flemings, who had been cruelly oppressed by their governor, the count of St. Paul. The insurgents were headed by a weaver of Brussels, and had been wrought to such a pitch of exasperation, that they massacred the French garrisons in every part of Flanders. They afterwards defeated, in a regular combat, a French army commanded by the count d'Artois, whose imprudence and temerity were such, that the greater part of his cavalry were precipitated headlong into a canal having a muddy bottom, in which both men and horses perished. The Flemings made a bridge of their bodies, and charged the enemy's infantry, nearly the half of whom were slain. Upwards of twenty thousand French, among whom were the counts of Artois and St. Paul, fell on that day: and four thousand pairs of gilt spurs were hung up in the Flemish temples.

The insidious offers made by Philip were rejected by the Flemings, who persisted in their resolution to throw off the French yoke. It required an assemblage of all the forces of France to defeat them; but their spirit was still unsubdued. They revolted afterwards under Philip of Valois, and proved that, when the affections of a nation cannot be gained over, it is not an easy task to reduce it to obedience.

The religious and military order of the Knights

Templars was at this epoch abolished in France. The motive which led Philip to this measure is related in the following manner. He had debased the current coin to such a degree, that the populace of Paris had revolted, and proceeded to the grossest outrages against his person. As the templars had neglected to quell this insurrection, he caused the grand master, and the whole of the order, to be apprehended on the same day, as well in Paris as in the provinces. Historians allege that he was prompted to this measure by his avarice, which had before induced him to debase the current coin of his realm, the templars possessing an immense property. The grand master, and the principal members of the order, were put to the torture, and afterwards executed. By this horrid cruelty Philip obtained possession of their wealth.

Several leagues having been formed against him, and symptoms of revolt having manifested themselves in every part of his kingdom, Philip fell sick of grief, and died at Fontainbleau. His death was, at the least, accounted for in this manner; but suspicions were entertained that he was assassinated by the order of the bishop of Chalons, who had set on foot the most formidable of the leagues. In the reign of this monarch, whose vindictive disposition could only be exceeded by his extreme avarice, the city of Lyons was united to the French monarchy, and the independent Swiss Republic established. Three of the Cantons leagued against the emperor, who was their sovereign in quality of the duke of Austria, and, having expelled their merciless governor, brought

about the confederation which subsisted for nearly five centuries.

Louis X., surnamed the *Hutin*, succeeded to the throne, in right of his birth. His character was weak and irresolute, and it was therefore fortunate for the subject, that he did not reign more than six months and a few days. He had all the vices of youth, without possessing any of the virtues and amiable qualities which usually distinguish that period of life.

The only remarkable political event of his short reign was, an unfortunate expedition he made to Flanders, in which his army, employed in the siege of one of the Flemish fortresses, being left destitute of provisions and ammunition, was exposed to the mercy of the enemy, and in a manner exterminated.

Louis, having heated himself in a tennis court, and very imprudently swallowed large draughts of water cooled with ice, was suddenly cut off, leaving his second wife pregnant. On the receipt of this intelligence, his brother Philip, who was then at Lyons, repaired to Paris, and having assembled the heads of the nation, demanded the government. It was enacted that he should hold it until the queen should be brought to bed. If she should be delivered of a male child, he was to have the regency; but if of a female, he was to be proclaimed king.

A male child came into the world to defeat the hopes of Philip; but this posthumous infant survived only five or six days. The regent was now proclaimed king, under the title of Philip V., surnamed the Long. He was the first monarch of

the third race who came to the throne in a collateral line. On his accession he convened an assembly, in which an express law was enacted to exclude from the inheritance the princesses of the blood.

Philip made a traffic of civil liberty, which he bartered for money to the bondsmen of the royal domains. These domains he declared to be unalienable. He likewise made a provision by which the appanages, hitherto the property of the children, were to be revertible to the crown, in default of male issue. He persecuted the Jews, and, in general, all the foreigners who resided within his dominions, and refused to embrace christianity. Many of them fled; and others were condemned to be burned. The Jewish women threw their children into the flames in which their own bodies were to be consumed, to prevent them from being subjected to the baptismal ceremony.

After a short reign of five years, Philip died, and left behind him no other than female issue, whom he had disinherited by the support he gave to the Salic law. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Charles IV. surnamed the Fair, a virtuous and accomplished prince, who began by repressing the severities exercised by the inferior class of the nobility against their tenantry. He also brought to condign punishment the financiers, the greater part of whom were either from Lombardy or some other part of Italy; for in those days the French disdained these employments. The fruit of their rapine was confiscated; and they were sent back to their own country as poor as when they had quitted it, the greatest punishment which could have been inflicted on them. The

mint master, who was at the same time receiver general of the crown, was put to death, in consequence of his refusal to reveal the spot in which he had concealed the royal treasures he had appropriated to himself.

The wise conduct of this prince, who knew how to take advantage of the existing circumstances, secured peace to France. His rigid probity led him to attack vice in every direction, whatever might be the rank or dignity of the offender. He was himself a strict observer of the laws; and had no other ambition than that of governing his subjects with justice and equity. Had not his career been so soon checked, there is reason to presume that he would have made great efforts to ensure their happiness. He was, however, snatched off by an untimely death. What was said of him by his courtiers, was perhaps the highest compliment they could have paid him, that he was more of a philosopher than of a king.

CHAPTER IV.

Revolt of the Flemings—Defeat of the French in the memorable battle of Crecy by Edward III. of England, and in that of Poitiers by Edward the Black Prince—They are again defeated at Agincourt by Henry V. of England.

AT the time of the interregnum which followed the death of Charles IV. who did not leave behind him any male issue, the monarchical government was not as yet established, seeing that the principles of obedience were not defined. This could alone be brought about by the union of the great fiefs to the crown. They merely acknowledge the monarch as lord paramount. Even the provinces which had been subjugated, arrogated to themselves a considerable number of privileges; and the dukes of Guienne, Burgundy, and Brittany, in conjunction with the count of Flanders, deprived the throne of a part of its preponderance. It will shortly be seen how this order of affairs influenced the future destinies of France.

The widow of Charles being pregnant at the time of his death, it became necessary to establish a regency, instead of proceeding immediately to elect a king, in the expectation of her producing a male heir to the throne. The question of who was to be regent lay between Edward III. of England, the eldest son of the sister of the de-

ceased monarch, and Philip of Valois, the eldest son of the paternal uncle of the last three kings. The former founded his pretensions on the proximity of his relationship; while the latter called to his aid the Salic law. Edward alleged that if this law excluded females from the crown, it did not exclude the sons of princesses, and that consequently the nephew had a better title than the cousin german. This reasoning was conclusive; but the invincible aversion entertained by the French to English domination, bestowed the regency on Philip of Valois.

On the birth of the posthumous child, which was a female, he was proclaimed king. He was surnamed the Fortunate, because he obtained the crown by the demise of three young sovereigns. The first act of his authority was to bring to trial Remy, the person who had had the administration of the treasury under Charles IV. He was tried, convicted of peculation, and hanged.

He found infinite difficulty in reducing to obedience the Flemings, who made unceasing struggles for their liberty. They were brought under subjection for a time; but Philip treated them with so much cruelty, that ten years after their fury became implacable. Their revolt was principally caused by the forced levies made on them by their count, who had, to their detriment, signed private treaties with the king of France.

Philip formed the resolution of humiliating his rival and competitor Edward, whom he haughtily summoned to appear personally before him, to do homage for Guienne, and the county of Ponthieu. Edward, with the advice of his peers, proceeded to France as duke of Guienne, but accompanied by a suite which announced all the pomp of

royalty. He had studied the form of the homage he was to render, and expressed himself in terms which did not commit his personal dignity. After this forced act of submission, the exaction of which inspired him with an inveterate hatred to Philip, he demanded justice of the states for the lands the king of France had withheld from him since the war made in Guienne by Charles of Valois, in which a part of the duchy had been wrested from him. He meditated a plan which he prudently concealed, until he should find a meet opportunity to humble Philip in his turn. He was not long in bringing over the Flemings to his interest; and a brewer, named Arteville, became a more powerful ally to him, than the emperor Louis of Bavaria, and five other princes whom he had drawn into the league. Arteville had acquired over his countrymen the Flemings all the ascendancy which courage, patriotism, eloquence, and successful enterprise could bestow.

In the mean time Philip created a new enemy in the person of Robert of Artois, the grandson of the count of Artois, who had been killed in the battle of Courtray. Robert was legitimate heir to the county of Artois, which Philip, notwithstanding, withheld from him, having bestowed it, from interested motives, on Matilda the aunt of Robert. The latter set off for London, and exposed his pretensions to Edward.

The Flemings were at this time ripe for a revolt, but entertained a scruple of conscience. They had promised in a late treaty to be faithful to the king of France. To overcome this difficulty, Robert of Artois persuaded Edward to assume, without any ceremony, the title and arms of France. This was no sooner suggested than it

was carried into effect; and a justificatory manifesto was published on the occasion. The negociations which followed being ineffectual, Edward set off for Germany, and made an alliance with the emperor, in whose dominions he levied troops.

A naval engagement followed, in which the French were defeated with a dreadful loss. To save the further effusion of blood, Edward proposed to Philip that, as the war was rather a conflict between sovereign and sovereign, than between nation and nation, the issue should be tried by a single combat; or, which would perhaps be more agreeable to him, by a hundred champions on each side. To this Philip insolently replied that a lord paramount was not bound to accept a challenge from his vassal.

Edward was so afflicted at the death of Robert of Artois, who was slain in the naval conflict, that he bound himself by an oath to ravage France. He landed in Normandy, and having rapidly atchieved the conquest of the greater part of that province, proceeded towards Flanders. Seeing with regret that his personal quarrel was the cause of the destruction of so many men, he sent a second challenge to Philip, whose contemptuous silence irritated him beyond measure. Having prosecuted his route, with fifteen or sixteen thousand prisoners who greatly embarrassed the progress of his army, he crossed the river Somme, and took possession of a height which commanded the village of Crecy, become so celebrated by the defeat of the French army. This ever memorable battle cost the French thirty thousand soldiers, twelve hundred knights, and eighty ban-

ners. Philip, notwithstanding he had been beaten, persisted in refusing to retreat; and was on the point of being made prisoner by the English, when one of his noblemen seized the bridle of his horse, and forced him to withdraw from the field of battle. The effects of this victory, thus gloriously gained by Edward, were more dreadful than the battle itself. He laid siege to Calais, and concerted his measures so well, that his adversaries could not throw succours into the place. Nearly two thousand of the wretched inhabitants having been sent out by the garrison, to lessen the consumption of provisions, came to the camp of the besiegers. Edward gave to each of them a hearty meal and two shillings, providing them a retreat for their future security.

The French army had scarcely assembled before Calais, when the place was surrendered to the English. Edward held this acquisition to be of so much consequence, that he deemed himself in possession of the keys of France. The important post of Calais was in the possession of the English until 1558. Edward displayed so great a share of moderation in the midst of his conquests, which were extended to Brittany and Guienne, where his arms were equally successful, that he consented to a truce with France.

At the above time a scourge still more terrible than war threatened the human species with an entire desolation. A general plague, surpassing in its horrors whatever besides the remotest history can furnish, ravaged in the space of eighteen months every part of the known world. It broke out in the northern provinces of China; and, after having desolated Asia and Africa, de-

populated Europe. In its return, it swept off, in the places through which it passed, two-thirds of the inhabitants. This calamity had been preceded by terrible earthquakes, which swallowed up whole cities.

Philip died amid the general execration of his subjects. He was vain, obstinate, and of a limited capacity. Even after he had been beaten, he could not appreciate the merits of the adversary with whom he had to deal. In his arrogant presumption, he persuaded himself that he could master events, fancying them subordinate to his courage. Edward facetiously called him the author of the *Salic* law, because he took possession of all the salt in his dominions, and sold it to his subjects at his own price.

During this reign, Avignon was sold to the pope for a trifling compensation, by Jane of Anjou, queen of Naples, who had strangled her husband, and to whom the pope granted an asylum in the territory he had acquired by this purchase. The province of Dauphiné was ceded to Philip, on condition that the eldest born son, the presumptive heir to the crown, should in future be styled Dauphin, and bear the arms of the province.

John II., the son and successor of Philip, was forty years of age when he ascended the throne. He conceived the most violent projects; constantly refused to be governed by the advice of his statesmen; and possessed neither sagacity, foresight, nor discernment, in the line of conduct he pursued. He commenced his reign by the assassination of the high constable, Raoul, count of Eu, who was decapitated in his presence,

without being brought to a trial. The post of high constable, and the county inherited by the deceased, were bestowed on two of John's favourites. This scandalous abuse of power excited so much alarm among the grandees, that they proceeded to open revolt, and chose for their leader Charles I. king of Navarre.

The latter called on John to dismiss his favourite on whom he had bestowed the post of the deceased Raoul; and on his refusal, caused the newly-elected constable to be assassinated. He then wrote to the grandees, and to the different cities of France, to say that he had resorted to this measure for the public welfare, and to entreat them to be constantly united with him, so as to oblige the king to govern equitably, and conformably to the laws. On his side, John was not remiss in his exertions, and deemed it expedient to have recourse to a stratagem. He accordingly contrived, with the aid of the dauphin, who pretended to have been brought over to the adverse party, to seize on the person of the king of Navarre at a public entertainment to which the latter had been invited. He next ordered four of his particular friends, among whom was the duke of Harcourt, to be put to death, and was himself present at their execution. This act of cruelty rendered the revolt general, and kindled the flames of war between France and England. The brother of Charles of Navarre, who was lodged in prison, and all the friends of his house, together with the relatives of the noblemen who had been executed, took the field, and demanded succour of Normandy, as well as of the king of England, to whom they

made a tender of several cities, to engage him to break the truce he had made with the king of France.

John disdainfully rejected the pacific offers of the prince of Wales, who had ten years before obtained so much renown at the battle of Crecy; and the result of his obstinacy was, that the factions which had been set on foot obtained over him a complete triumph. The battle of Poitiers followed, to shed an additional lustre on the arms of England. The black prince could bring into the field eight thousand men only, whom he had to oppose to an army eighty thousand strong. He was pent up, near the city of Poitiers, in a very narrow spot, where, without risking the event of a battle, John might have reduced him to the alternative, either of surrendering, or of seeing his army perish through hunger. Such was, however, the impatience of the French monarch, that he attacked without regulating the order of the battle. Victory declared in favour of the small army of the prince of Wales, by whom John's army was routed and dispersed, and himself made prisoner. He was conducted to Bordeaux, and from thence to London. A truce was shortly after consented to by the king of England, who displayed great moderation on this occasion, as he might unquestionably have made himself master of the whole of the French territory, by a vigorous pursuit of the war.

In the interim the king of Navarre, who had escaped from prison, acquired a powerful ascendancy over the states general, which had been convened after the captivity of John, and were presided by the dauphin in his new quality of lieute-

sant of the kingdom. The consequence was that, in these assemblies, the ministers by whom the public affairs had been conducted before the unfortunate event of the battle of Poitiers, were tried and convicted, notwithstanding the dauphin made every possible effort to screen them from punishment. On the latter being declared regent, he acted with so much firmness, that Charles of Navarre, after having thwarted him in every possible manner, was constrained to propose to him terms of accommodation.

John, who was wearied of his captivity, proposed to the English, that, on condition they would consent to his liberation, they should hold, in full sovereignty, Normandy, Saintonge, Poitou, Guienne, Maine, Anjou, Tourraine, the territory of Aunis, Perigord, the Limosin, Ponthieu, and the Boulonnais, in addition to which they should be paid four millions of crowns in specie. The provisions of this treaty, which had been ratified in London, the dauphin and the states general refused to confirm, which irritated Edward so much, that he landed a powerful army in France, and ravaged several of the provinces.

John returned to France: but shortly after set out for London, to engage Edward, as some historians pretend, in a crusade which he had undertaken at the instigation of the king of Cyprus. Others assert that the motive of his visit was a passion he had conceived, during his captivity, for the countess of Salisbury. This unfortunate monarch died two months after his arrival in the English capital. His body was conveyed to St. Denis.

Unless for the talents of his successor, Charles

V. surnamed the Wise, the French monarch might have fallen under the yoke of English domination. On his accession to the throne, the war was recommenced against the king of Navarre, who again asserted his pretensions to Brie and Champaign. He was defeated by Bertrand du Guesclin, a valiant commander on whom Charles bestowed an unlimited confidence. During the thirty preceding years the French had experienced no other than defeats; a more flattering prospect was now before them.

Du Guesclin was next sent into Brittany, at the head of a powerful army, to support the pretensions of Charles of Blois; and afterwards into Castile, to succour Don Henry, who had to dispute the crown of his ancestors with his brother Peter, surnamed the Cruel. The latter having been taken under the protection of England, was so powerfully aided by the heroical prince of Wales, that he was seated on the throne, after the defeat of the army of his brother Henry, in a combat in which Du Guesclin was made prisoner. His subjects were, however, so irritated by his haughtiness and inhumanity, that they recalled Don Henry, who had passed into France to implore the succour of Charles. By his aid Peter was defeated in the battle of Montiel; Du Guesclin was liberated from his captivity; and Don Henry again seated on the throne.

He was not ungrateful to his benefactor, but formed an alliance with France, as soon as war had been declared against England. Charles, in the prosecution of this war, brought into the field five armies, the most powerful of which was commanded by his favourite Du Guesclin, whom he

had appointed constable of France. The conquest of Guienne was rapidly atchieved by the French arms, the career of which was, however, soon checked by the prince of Wales's general, who, by a dextrous and well concerted march, suddenly found himself before Paris, to which he laid siege. While before the place, the English sent heralds to defy Charles to come out and meet them. Instead of accepting their challenge, he opposed to them the army of Du Guesclin, who forced them to raise the siege. The latter prosecuted his enterprises, and expelled the English from Berry, Tourraine, and Anjou, of which they had already made themselves masters. He next recovered from them the Rovergue, Perigord, and a part of the Limousin.

Don Henry, the ally of Charles, obtained a victory over the English fleet. As Edward had not a sufficient number of vessels to send prompt reinforcements into Poitou, Guienne, and the territory of Aunis, the French general met with but little resistance. The English monarch accordingly experienced the inconstancy of fortune, which forsook him both by sea and by land. His armies on the French territory insensibly melted away, without being able to set on foot any great military enterprises.

The truce which intervened was followed by the death of the prince of Wales, and by that of his father Edward, who survived him but a short time. Charles having now brought his projects to maturity, assailed the English in every direction. He recovered from them five provinces, but failed in his attempt on Brittany, by a precipitation which threw all the advantages into the

scale of his adversaries. This monarch, who possessed great vigour of mind, but whose constitution was extremely delicate, was suddenly carried off in his forty-seventh year. It will soon be perceived that his death was a great calamity to France.

He was succeeded by Charles VI. styled the Well Beloved, whose minority was confided to his three uncles. Their insatiable avarice, during their short regency, was such, that the oppressed Parisians, as well as the inhabitants of Rouen, Troyes, and Orleans, broke out into open revolt. When the insurrections were quelled, they were made to pay very heavy contributions, which were seized with avidity by the regents, instead of being carried into the public treasury, for the benefit of the state. The necessary consequence was, that when arms were taken up against the English, the people were harassed by new taxes, the weight of which indicated a general insurrection.

The first campaign into which Charles entered was against the Flemings, headed by the son of Jacques d'Arteville, whose exploits have been already noticed. He defeated them at the battle of Rosebeck; and shortly after, by the advice of his council, turned his arms against England, then weakened by the civil wars in which Richard II. was involved with his subjects by his incapacity.

There had never been, on any former occasion, so great a preparation of ships, men, and warlike machines, as were then destined for the invasion of England. All the vessels belonging to Flanders, Sweden, and Denmark, were either

purchased or hired for the expedition. This formidable fleet, which was fitted out in 1386, consisted of one thousand, two hundred, and eighty-seven sail, of which sixty were ships of the line. In the centre was a wooden city, having a diameter of three thousand paces, provided with towers and bastions, and constructed over boats fastened together. It was so contrived as to be put together, or taken in pieces, in the space of a day; and was intended to furnish lodgings for the troops when they should be landed. Twenty thousand horsemen, twenty thousand cross-bow men, and twenty thousand foot soldiers armed with halberds and hatchets, formed the army which was to be disembarked. The French nobility proceeded in great numbers to Flanders, to embark at the different ports, and share in the glory of the expedition. To the great surprise of Europe it failed, having been encountered on its passage by a tempest which dispersed the ships. The wreck of the wooden city was thrown by the waves on the English shore.

Charles had a favourite, named Clisson, whose elevation to the rank of constable of France gave so much offence to the grandees that they formed for his assassination a plot which was carried into effect as he quitted the palace. He received fifty wounds, neither of which proved mortal. The assassins fled into Brittany, where the plot had originated; and were followed by Charles, who was resolved either to force the duke to deliver them up, or to punish him in case of a refusal. In crossing the forest of Mans, at the head of his army, he suddenly displayed symptoms of insanity, from which he was not

well recovered, when an accident at a ball, given on the occasion of the birth of a princess, brought on a relapse.

During his insane state, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry resumed the reins of the government. Louis, duke of Orleans, brother to Charles, asserted that the regency belonged by right to him; but he was excluded by the duke of Burgundy on account of his youth. This was the ground of an inveterate hatred between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy. Louis had the queen on his side, and intrigued so well that, while the duke of Burgundy was absent on a journey, he was declared sole regent. His degraded adversary did not long survive this event; but the duke of Orleans did not derive any advantage from his death. The son was still more ardent and politic than the father, and was resolved to assert his rights.

The hatred which prevailed between the heads of the two factions was at length augmented to such a degree, that they did not scruple to manifest publicly their hostile intentions. The duke of Orleans was detested by the people, and beloved by the grandees; while the duke of Burgundy had captivated the good graces of the commonalty. On Sunday the 20th of November, 1407, they had both of them been present at the mass, and received the communion together, in addition to which they had sworn to be perfectly reconciled to each other, and to keep up a friendly intercourse. On the following Wednesday, the duke of Orleans, having quitted the queen's house in the evening, had not proceeded a hundred steps, when he was assas-

sinated, by the order of the duke of Burgundy, by Raoul d'Ocquetonville. His widow died of grief; but his sons were forced to sign, in the cathedral of Chartres, a reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, who was proclaimed regent amid the acclamations of the people.

After some years of struggle and contention between the contending factions, it was resolved that the regency should be placed in the hands of the queen and dauphin, as the surest means of preventing open hostilities. The duke of Burgundy, on his dismissal, joined the English, who were arming both by sea and land, to attempt the invasion of France. They landed in Normandy, and were not long in recovering several of the strong holds of which they had been dispossessed. Having crossed the river Somme, without meeting with the smallest obstacle, they found the French army drawn up in a plain near the village of Agincourt, or Azincourt: it was there that the valorous Henry V. of England, with an army of fifteen thousand men, gave battle to nearly four times that number of the French, over whom he gained a most complete and decided victory. On that memorable day, ten thousand French were slain in the field. The loss was chiefly confined to persons of rank and consideration. It was estimated that upwards of nine thousand knights or gentlemen fell, together with a hundred and twenty noblemen carrying banners. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu and Vendome, were made prisoners. The other prisoners amounted to fourteen thousand, being nearly equal, in point of numbers, to the force which Henry brought into the field.

As it was apprehended that the duke of Burgundy, who was making forced marches towards the capital, would unite his forces with those of England, the count of Armagnac was called on to defend the kingdom. He was appointed prime minister, and had the dignity of high constable conferred on him. He was so haughty and inflexible in his administration, that the people regretted the absence of the duke of Burgundy. His abuse of authority was carried to such an excess, that he at length became obnoxious *to his* own party, as well as to the queen, to whom he was indebted for his elevation. Being aware *of* the intention of the latter to bring him into disgrace, he was resolved to anticipate her, for which purpose he accused her, before the *king*, who had his lucid intervals, of maintaining a criminal intercourse with Louis Bourdon, the grand master of her palace. Bourdon was strangled in the prison of the Chatelet; and the queen imprisoned at Tours, where she was *strictly* watched. In her captivity she wrote to the duke of Burgundy, whose succour she earnestly implored. He was obedient to her call, and published a manifesto in which he demanded that the regency should be bestowed on her, calling on *all* the subjects of France to unite their arms to his, and free the king and the dauphin from the thraldom in which they were held by the count of Armagnac.

The queen having been delivered from her captivity, the duke put himself at the head of sixty thousand men, and was received with open arms in Champaign and Picardy, from whence he proceeded to lay siege to Paris, accompanied by the

queen. It was not necessary for him to invest the place, the gates of which were opened by the populace, who seized on the Armagnacs, and made them prisoners. The king, who was in a state of stupid insensibility, thanked both the queen and the duke for their good offices, promising for the future to be governed by their counsels.

A report having been circulated in Paris that the Armagnacs were to be liberated, the populace proceeded to the Conciergerie, where they put to death the constable and all his adherents. They went from thence to the Chatelet, and murdered such of the bishops, presidents of parliament, &c. as were favourable to the vanquished party, and had gone thither for protection. It was to be expected that the English, who had well founded pretensions in France, would take advantage of this state of anarchy. They returned to the French territory with a full persuasion that they would not meet with any resistance from the duke of Burgundy; and conquered the whole of Normandy. Their rapid progress at length equally alarmed the two factions, the one headed by the dauphin, who styled himself Regent, the other by the queen and duke of Burgundy, by whom a council had been established for the direction of public affairs. Negociations were accordingly entered into with Henry V. of England, whose demands, dictated by his victorious exploits, were so extravagant, that they inspired universal terror and alarm. "God," said he, "has taken me by the hand, and "conducted me hither. There is no longer any "king in France, where anarchy and disorder

"prevail. It therefore belongs to me to govern, "and to save a state which totters on the brink of "ruin."

The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy had an interview, and embraced each other at the head of their respective armies, promising to unite in the expulsion of the common enemy. The assassination, however, of the duke of Orleans by the latter was not forgotten by the partizans of the dauphin. A second interview having been agreed on, on the bridge of Montereau, to remove every cause of future contention, the duke had no sooner bowed his knee to do homage to the dauphin, than he was surrounded by a band of noblemen who had been attached to the deceased duke of Orleans, and put to death. The queen, who entertained a mortal hatred to her son, was so incensed at this murder, that she persuaded Charles to disinherit him, and to tender the crown of France to Henry of England, on condition that he would espouse the princess Catherine. The offer was accepted, and a treaty entered into, by which, on the death of Charles, the property of the kingdom was to devolve to Henry and his heirs for ever. He was in the interim declared regent. With respect to the dauphin, the son of the duke of Burgundy demanded that he should be brought to trial for having commanded the assassination of his father. On his refusing to obey the mandate of the council, which was assembled at Troyes, it was declared that he should be banished for ever from the kingdom, the assassination of John, duke of Burgundy, having rendered him unworthy to succeed to the crown.

A kind of interregnum followed the death of Henry, which happened at Vincennes in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and that of Charles, who survived him only two months. At length the infant son of Henry was proclaimed king of England and France; and the duke of Bedford appointed regent of the latter kingdom during his minority.

Cards were invented in the reign of Charles VI. to amuse that monarch, and to relieve him from the melancholy which followed the alienation of his mind.

There were at this time two competitors for the crown of France, Charles VII., son of the deceased monarch, styled by the English, by way of derision, the King of Bourges, the place of his residence, and Henry VI. of England. The former owed his re-establishment to the throne of his ancestors, to the zeal and valour of his generals, and to the neglect of the duke of Bedford, the regent for Henry, by whom he was allowed to augment at his leisure a party which, at his father's death, had been very inconsiderable. The efforts of this party were at first uncertain; and Charles would have been irrecoverably lost, had not a misunderstanding arisen between the English generals and Philip, the new duke of Burgundy. The duke of Bedford had proceeded to England, to quell a popular insurrection. After several inconsiderable actions, the siege of Orleans was undertaken.

This memorable siege was to decide the fate of the French monarchy. The attack and the defence were made with equal vigour. Count Dunois, better known under the name of the Bastard

of Orleans, performed prodigies of valour; notwithstanding which the besieged was about to surrender the place, when a sudden and unexpected event occurred to revive the ardour of the French. A young country girl, named Joan d'Arc, presented herself to the council of Charles, who had himself, in his despair, fled the evening before to Dauphiné, to say that God had, in a revelation, apprized her that the royal troops would be enabled to sustain the siege, and force the enemy to retire. Struck with equal surprise and admiration at the heroical conduct she displayed, the council granted her the sword she requested; and by this sword she swore, that in her hand it should be fatal to the English, whom she would drive from the kingdom, to restore it to its lawful inheritor.

At the head of the French troops she fulfilled the promise she had made. She was mounted on a white palfrey, and displayed on her banner the image of our blessed Saviour. Thus arrayed, she sallied forth into the field, and, having obliged the English to raise the siege of Orleans, led on the troops of France to further conquests. The hopes of the nation were raised, as if by a miracle. Rheims opened its gates; and while the English were dispersed in every direction, Charles extended his conquests to the banks of the Seine. He was crowned in the above city, Joan of Arc being present at the ceremony, clad in martial array, and holding in her uplifted hand her victorious sword.

As a recompence for these important services, she was ennobled by Charles, together with the whole of her family, and their heirs and de-

pendants. The nobility did not refuse to receive into their body the humble female domestic of a tavern keeper; an incontestible proof of the just celebrity of her exploits. Having been afterwards wounded in defending Compiegne, which was besieged by the duke of Orleans, she was made prisoner in a sortie, and sold to the English for ten thousand livres. She was by them tried at Rouen for sorcery, and condemned to be burned. After this sentence, which reflects an eternal disgrace on the judges of the secular tribunal by whom she was tried, she leaped courageously from the battlements of the tower in which she was confined. She was bruised and lacerated by her fall. The cries which her sufferings extorted from her gave the alarm to her guards, who watched her more strictly than ever. When led to execution, she shed tears. To prolong her tortures, a scaffolding of plaster had been contrived, with so great an elevation, that the flames required a considerable time to penetrate to her body, which was gradually consumed.

The subsequent union of the duke of Burgundy with Charles, was a fatal blow to the English, who received another check by the sudden death of the duke of Bedford. The body of this great and virtuous nobleman, who had governed France with so much wisdom and moderation, that he was equally beloved by the French as by his own countrymen, was conveyed to Rouen, and interred, with princely ceremony, in a magnificent tomb.

The aspect of affairs became suddenly changed. It was of little avail that Henry VI. was pom-

pously crowned in Paris: the provinces fell, one after the other, into the hands of the French, whose successes were due to the exploits of Foix, Dunois, Armagnac, Montmorency, Trimouille, and several other distinguished generals. Charles was not an idle spectator of these events. He gained in person the battle of Formigny; and shortly after the capital fell into his hands.

In his southern dominions his career was checked by the valour and skill of Talbot, an illustrious English warrior, who perished in battle at the age of eighty years. The death of this heroical character, and the fatal disputes in England between the houses of York and Lancaster, at length placed the whole of the French monarchy, with the exception of Calais, under the dominion of Charles, who was on that account surnamed the Fortunate.

In the midst of his conquests he was harassed by the refractory conduct of his son, who at length broke out into open revolt, and levied a powerful army in Dauphiné, his appanage. He endeavoured to surprise several places in the vicinity of that province, while the father was employed in the conquest of Normandy and Guienne. He had next the temerity to demand the title of the duke of Normandy for his infant son. Having failed in his attempt to bring over to his side the duke of Burgundy, his atrocity of character suggested to him the idea of cutting off his father by poison. Charles, who was made acquainted with this unnatural plot against his life, was seized with so terrible a panic, that for five or six days he refused all sustenance. When he was at length prevailed on by his second

gon, the duke of Berry, to take a small portion of aliment, it was too late. Nature refused her office; and the apprehension of perishing by poison, caused him to fall a victim to hunger. Such was the end of Charles, styled the Fortunate and Victorious!

In his reign the discovery of printing was made, in the year 1440. The first book which was printed was a folio bible, the characters of which were a nice imitation of writing. They were engraven on a plate; and the moveable types were not invented until two years after.

The pragmatic sanction originated about the same time, in a general assembly of the clergy and nobility, representing the Gallican church, held at Bruges, to re-establish the ecclesiastical discipline. Its aim was to check the despotism of the popes, and to follow the traces of the primitive church. The superiority of the convocations, or assemblies of the clergy, over the see of Rome, formed the basis of the regulations which were then established.

CHAPTER V.

Civil wars between the Catholics and Protestants—The detestable massacre of St. Bartholomew—Wars of the league.

ON the death of his father, which he had himself indirectly occasioned, Louis XI. commenced his detestable reign. As his conscience apprised him of the hatred he had inspired, he

solicited the duke of Burgundy to escort him to Paris, with an army calculated for his protection. On his arrival he governed France as if it had been a conquered territory. He dismissed the members of the different administrations; levied troops unnecessarily; persecuted the nobility; augmented the established imposts; and levied others unconstitutionally, without consulting the states of the kingdom. He had scarcely reigned a month, when discontents broke out in every part of the French territory.

His first political project was to humble his ancient protector, the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, his son, who had afforded him an asylum against the just indignation of the deceased monarch, his father. While he had *to* oppose the united forces of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the count of Charolois formed an alliance with the discontented princes and grandees, whose numbers were very considerable; and at length gained over Charles, duke *of* Berry, the king's only brother, who was irritated at the entrenchments Louis had made in his establishment. A manifesto was speedily published by the malcontents, whose party was denominated the league of general welfare.

The confederated army was soon augmented to a hundred thousand men, and had the wishes of the nation on its side. It was sufficiently powerful to redress the grievances complained of; but the multitude of the generals by whom it was led, counteracted the vigour of the operations. The battles which ensued were not decisive, the loss being equal on either side, and each of the parties claiming the victory. After the combat

of Montlhery, in the course of which the terror was so great, that many of the runaways belonging to each of the armies, travelled upwards of forty leagues without taking any repose, announcing every where on their route that the day was lost, the king passed into Normandy, to prevent, by his presence, the insurrection of that important province. Having learned, during his absence, that Paris was on the eve of surrendering to the duke of Berry, who had assumed the title of the regent of the kingdom, he hastened back, but not without apprehensions that the Parisians would refuse him entrance. In the case of finding the gates of the capital barred against him, it was his resolution to withdraw into Italy, and seek the protection of the duke of Milan. They were, however, opened, on the condition, extorted from him by the inhabitants, that he should govern for the future by a council of eighteen persons to be appointed by the citizens.

His principal aim was to dissolve the confederacy, whatever sacrifices he might be obliged to make. He accordingly repaired to Conflans, where the princes were assembled, and made overtures of peace. By the treaty which followed, and which he was so anxious to sign, that he granted to several more than they demanded, his brother had the flourishing duchy of Normandy for an appanage. The expences which the duke of Brittany had incurred in carrying on the war were to be defrayed by Louis; and the count of Charolois was put in possession of Ponthieu and the Boulonnois. The favourite of the latter was appointed constable of France. The other malcontents were re-established in the properties

of which they had been dispossessed. It was afterwards stipulated that twelve prelates, twelve knights, and twelve commoners, to be appointed by the clergy, the nobility, and the people, should assemble to deliberate on the acts of the government, and that the king should be obliged to conform to their opinion. This was the last article of the treaty, and on its being signed the league was dissolved.

It was not to be expected that Louis would long conform to stipulations which were so galling to his pride. He began by attacking the weakest party, and marched a powerful army into Normandy, of which he dispossessed his brother, who retired into Brittany, meditating revenge. The death of the duke of Burgundy afforded Louis an opportunity to attack his son and successor, whom he mortally hated. On this occasion he was drawn into a snare by his confident, the cardinal of Balue, who treacherously engaged him to proceed to Peronne, and hold a conference with his adversary. He went thither without an escort, in full confidence that his person would be considered as sacred and inviolable; but was made prisoner, and forced to sign the treaty of Peronne, which put his brother in possession of Champaign and Brie. The latter was soon after taken off by poison; and not the smallest doubt was entertained but that Louis was the author of this atrocious deed.

The young duke of Burgundy was so incensed at this event, that he carried the war into France, and sacrificed to the manes of his deceased friend, a great number of innocent victims, who had to forfeit with their lives the crime of their

sovereign. The English, who were still in possession of Calais, having been brought over to the duke's interest, penetrated into the heart of the French territory, but were checked in their victorious career by the apathy of their monarch, Edward IV., who preferred a treaty of peace to the glory of foreign conquests. The enterprising Burgundian, deserted as he was by his ally, did not desist from his purposes, but formed the resolution of purchasing Provence, and of seizing on Lorraine, at one and the same time, to the end that he might, by the union of these two provinces to his hereditary states, be enabled to pass from one sea to another, without demanding a passage. He was not deficient in the audacity requisite to the execution of this splendid project; but, as if to justify the appellation he had acquired of Charles the *Rash*, he was so imprudent as to attack the Swiss, by whom he was defeated, in the course of the same year, 1476, in the combats of Grandson and Morat. He afterwards turned his arms against the duke of Lorraine, who had aided the Swiss in defeating him, and was killed, by the treachery of an Italian officer, in an action before Nancy, to which place he had laid siege.

Louis had been long troubled with attacks of epilepsy, which became more violent and alarming as he advanced further in years. He was at length a prey to all the horrors of a guilty conscience, and immured himself in the chateau of Plessis-les-Tours, surrounded by guards. In this fortress, which he had chosen as his retreat, he laboured under constant apprehensions of the

revolt of his subjects, whom he had most cruelly persecuted. Death at length relieved him from the complicated sufferings of guilt and superstition. To convey an idea of his sanguinary character, it will suffice to quote the following fact: When he pronounced sentence of death on the duke of Nemours, he ordered that his infant children should be placed beneath the scaffold, to be sprinkled by the blood which gushed from the body of their parent. Such an instance of refined cruelty, and cold barbarity, dispenses us from saying any thing further of this scourge of the human race, who was, notwithstanding, the first of the kings of France on whom the title of His Most Christian Majesty was conferred.

His successor, Charles VIII., was in his majority when he ascended the throne, having entered on his fourteenth year: it was therefore declared, in an assembly of the states, that the kingdom was not in need of a regent; and that the conduct of the royal person should be confided to Anne of France, the king's sister, and wife of Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. This decision was highly displeasing to the duke of Orleans, who aspired to the regency; and laid the foundation of discords which separated the court into two distinct factions.

The duke of Brittany having died without male issue, the rich heiress, his daughter, was sought by all the unmarried princes of Europe. She had already been betrothed to the archduke Maximilian; but, by the influence of the duke of Orleans, a marriage was brought about between this princess and the young king, who had been

before contracted to the daughter of the king of the Romans. A double dispensation was thus required from the pope.

This marriage, which excited the astonishment of all Europe, gave so much displeasure to the archduke, that he implored the succour of Spain and England, in carrying on a war against Charles. His troops having been defeated, the English withdrew the forces they had landed at Calais for the invasion of France.

The favourite project of Charles was the conquest of Naples, on which he was obstinately bent, as if the territory of France had been of little or no value, when compared with the possession of a part of Italy, which boasted a more genial climate. To remove every obstacle which lay in the way, he terminated the war with the neighbouring princes, and, to secure their neutrality, made to them the most important concessions. To the king of Castille he ceded the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaigne; and abandoned to the archduke Maximilian, whose wife he had taken, the counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois.

The king of Naples was no sooner apprised of his intention, than he offered to do homage to Charles, and to pay him an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns. This proposition was haughtily rejected; and the French army crossed the Alps, but with such insufficient means for the payment of the troops, that their leader was under the necessity of pledging the jewels and trinkets of the duchess of Savoy and marchioness of Montferrat, to raise the sum of twenty-four thousand

ducats. The great advantage of the French, when they penetrated into the kingdom of Naples, resided in their powerful train of artillery. They were not obliged to undertake any siege, nor to combat their enemy in the field; and such was the terror their appearance excited, that the greater part of the cities sent a deputation to Charles with the keys. On this occasion pope Alexander VI. wittily observed, "that the French had come, "like quarter-masters, with the carbine beneath "the arm, and chalk in the hand, to mark out "their lodgings."

The inhabitants of Florence declared in favour of the French, and, in their revolt, proscribed the Medici, whose property was confiscated, and their statues broken. Every part of Italy was panic struck; and Charles made his triumphant entry into Rome, without encountering the smallest opposition. The pope, who had secretly favoured both the emperor Maximilian and the king of Naples, took shelter in the castle of St. Angelo. To make his peace with Charles, he was reduced to the necessity of ceding four of the cities of the ecclesiastical state.

When the French monarch was yet at the distance of fifty leagues from the Neapolitan territory, the dastardly king of Naples surrendered his possessions to his eldest son, and retired to Sicily, where he died six months after. The son followed the cowardly example of the father, and betook himself to flight as soon as the French presented themselves to force the outer entrenchments of the capital. Charles was crowned king of Naples in the month of February 1495; and,

having assumed the pompous title of king of Constantinople, wore the Imperial ornaments during the ceremony.

While the French felt themselves secure in Italy, where they treated the inhabitants of the subjugated territory with the utmost rigour, a league, of which the pope was the principal instigator, was formed against them at Venice. All the princes of Italy were secretly united against Charles, who adopted, when it became necessary for him to defend himself against them, the most vicious plan he could possibly have devised. He divided his troops, instead of keeping them in a collective body; and the result was that the French were driven, not only out of the kingdom of Naples, but of every part of Italy. The king of Arragon contributed essentially to their defeat.

Charles, on his return to France, could not be prevailed on to abandon his favourite idea of the conquest of Italy. He levied a new army, and made the most expensive preparations to effect the passage of the Alps. He was, however, thwarted in his intention by cardinal Briçonnet, who had been gained over by the pope; and by the duke of Orleans, by whom the command of the army was declined. The latter perceiving that the health of the king, who had led a very intemperate life, was visibly on the decline, was resolved not to quit the capital, and thus risk the loss of the succession. He was not wrong in his conjectures relative to the approaching dissolution of Charles, who was cut off in his twenty-eighth year. The direct line of Philip of Valois terminated with this monarch. Anne of Brittany had

borne him four children, all of whom died in their infancy; and the succession fell to his cousin, the duke of Orleans. In this reign the discovery of America was made by Columbus.

Louis XII. styled the Father of the People, was the grandson of the duke of Orleans, who had been assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and great grandson of Charles V. of France. He was thirty-six years of age when he ascended the throne. He suppressed a multitude of imposts, and took the most effectual measures to render his subjects happy and contented. He was frequently heard to say, that a good shepherd could not take too much pains to fatten his flock.

After having regulated the internal affairs of his kingdom by the wisest and most beneficent administration, Louis became the dupe of his allies, who prevailed on him to attempt the conquest of Genoa, Naples, and Milan. He was successful at the commencement of his operations against Italy; but their issue was as unfortunate as that of the enterprises of his predecessor. He was involved in a great number of treaties, which were so many snares, contrived to entrap him, by the treachery of the Italians. He had besides the want of address to irritate the Swiss against him, instead of making them his friends. In his war against the Spaniards he was equally unsuccessful. His army was defeated; and his fleet of observation, which was stationed off the coast of Catalonia, driven into port.

The widow of Charles the VIII. had retired to Brittany, her inheritance, a possession which it was of importance to Louis to obtain. He had long entertained a passion for Anne of Brittany;

and policy now blended itself with his love. He accordingly procured a divorce with his queen, the daughter of Louis XI., and contracted the alliance he so ardently desired. The new queen obtained over him an entire ascendancy. Her destiny was somewhat singular: after having espoused two kings, and having been in a manner divorced from Maximilian of Austria, she ascended the throne a second time, by the deposition of a princess, the daughter of a king of France. She died, after having, by her importunities, done considerable injury to the affairs of Italy. She considered the war carried on against the pope as impious and sacrilegious, since, according to her principles, an attack on the sovereign pontiff could not be justified by any circumstance. She accordingly counteracted the military operations, and destroyed in the councils whatever Louis accomplished by the success of his arms.

Henry VIII. of England, the head of the confederacy against Louis, had not only declared in favour of the emperor, but had waged a successful war on the French territory. He suddenly broke with his allies, and having made his peace with the French monarch, bestowed on him the hand of his sister, who had been long betrothed to the archduke Charles. This marriage was as extraordinary as the preceding one.

In the midst of his preparations to recover the losses he had sustained in Italy, Louis died universally regretted. The lamentable exclamation of *the good king is dead*, was heard on every side; and the memorable edict of 1499, in which he enjoined that the law should be constantly

adhered to, notwithstanding the contrary ord which importunity might chance to extort fr the sovereign, ought to have been engraven his tomb.

During his reign the quantity of circulati money was so much augmented by the Indian di coveries, that the rents of territorial properti were augmented in a ratio of eight or nine to on On this account the nobility deemed themselv so rich, that their expences became inordinat and obliged them finally to dispose of their land Their extravagance in horses and dogs was un bounded; and this induced Louis to observe "that the greater part of the noblemen in hi "kingdom were, like Acteon, and Abderus, the "favourites of Hercules, literally devoured by "their dogs and horses."

As soon as it was ascertained that the queen, the widow of Louis XII. was not pregnant (for this precaution was indispensable) Francis, count of Angouleme, the first prince of the blood, suddenly assumed the title of king.

Francis I. possessed several amiable and brilliant qualities, but had a strong propensity for military exploits, and was encouraged in this ruling passion by the courtiers who surrounded his throne. His predecessor had formally renounced the duchy of Milan; but as Francis was the great grandson of a certain Valentine, duke of Milan, his relationship furnished him the pretext of undertaking its conquest.

Pope Leo X. had entered into a league with the emperor to prevent the entrance of the French into the Milanese territory; and, on their side, the Swiss had seized on the different

sses of the Alps. The French army passed, owever, by a road which a peasant discovered the king. The Swiss were so much enraged their eluding their vigilant research, that they rsued them into the Milanese territory, where ey gave them battle. The combat was dread- l. The French artillery, which had been agged across the mountains with incredible la- our, made a prodigious slaughter of the Swiss oops, whole files of whom it swept away, so as o enable the French cavalry to charge and break their ranks with facility. The Swiss general, ob- serving the terror and desolation spread among them, gave orders for the retreat, and left fifteen thousand dead in the field of battle. In this ac- tion Francis fought as a soldier, not as a sove- reign; and his example inspired the troops with an enthusiastic fury which contributed not a little to the victory they gained. Being thus put in entire possession of the Milanese territory, Francis made his solemn entry into the ca- pital, in which he caused a parliament to be assembled.

He was on the point of returning to France, when Pope Leo X. demanded to have an inter- view with him at Bologna. The result of the conference was, that a *concordat* was substituted to the pragmatic sanction; and the pope thus gain- ed, for the ecclesiastical state, a year's income of each of the benefices conferred in France. Francis next purchased, at an extravagant price, an al- liance with the Swiss, who engaged never to serve the enemies of the French monarchy. As they had given manifest proofs of their valour, and occupied besides the defiles which led to

Italy, it was considered that such an alliance could not be too dearly bought.

While Francis I. justly considered himself as the most powerful sovereign of Europe, he was not long in finding a rival in the person of Charles V. who had just ascended the throne of Spain. The emperor Maximilian being deceased, they both asserted their pretensions to the empire. Charles having the German princes on his side, was elected emperor; a decision which operated so powerfully on Francis, that his jealousy was suddenly converted into a personal animosity which caused seas of blood to flow, in a war that lasted more than thirty-eight years.

It was the endeavour of Francis to bring over to his side Henry VIII. of England, but the latter declared his intention to remain neuter. While he maintained, however, an equilibrium between the two powers, he reserved to himself the right of making either of the scales of the balance preponderate at his pleasure. He is accordingly represented on a medal, holding a pair of scales in the right hand, and a weight in the left.

The hostilities began in Navarre; but the seat of the war was afterwards carried into Flanders by the Imperialists, who laid siege to Mouzon. The emperor having learned that Francis had reached the bank of the Scheldt, advanced to dispute with him the passage of that river; but finding himself anticipated, abandoned his army which might have been easily defeated by his rival, had he not been destitute of the pecuniary resources necessary to the vigorous prosecution of his enterprises.

Pope Leo X. leagued with the emperor to drive the French out of Italy, and was, by treaty, to take possession of Parma and Placenza. His policy, conjointly with the magnitude of the resources of the Imperialists, and the death of the valorous Bayard, whose exploits have acquired so high a celebrity, proved fatal to the cause of the French, whose subsequent disasters, on the Italian territory, may likewise be ascribed to the persecution of the constable of Bourbon by the queen mother. That accomplished general quitted France, and took the command of the armies of Charles V.

Francis having enclosed the army commanded by Antonia de Leve in Padua, to which place he laid siege, fancied he had nothing further to dread. He therefore divided his forces, and having sent a body of ten thousand men to Naples, and another reinforcement of four thousand men to Genoa, disdained to fortify himself in his entrenchments. The Imperialists assembled their troops, and offered him battle. His unprepared state was such, that his generals recommended to him to retreat; but he resolved to face the enemy. The battle, which terminated in the entire defeat of the French, was fought on the 24th of February, 1525, and resembled, in its catastrophe, those won by the English at Poitiers and Agincourt. Twenty-five thousand French were slain, and Francis himself made prisoner. He had the mortification to find himself the captive of one of his subjects, of the very constable whom he had, as well as the queen dowager, treated with so much hauteur.

Having been conducted to Madrid, the emperor refused to see him, on pretence that the in-

terview would be embarrassing to both the parties. Francis was so much hurt by this refusal that he fell dangerously sick. In his despair he delivered to his sister, the duchess of Alencon who had come to Madrid to visit him, an act of renunciation by which he ceded the crown to the dauphin, exhorting his family and his subjects to consider him as one no longer in existence. In the mean time the parliament took the necessary measures for the security of Paris, and, by the firmness it displayed, diminished the consternation into which France had been thrown by the captivity of the monarch.

Europe was at length alarmed by the aggrandizement of Charles, whose ambition having no longer any check or counterpoise, might have forged fetters for all the surrounding nations. A league was in consequence formed in favour of the captive sovereign; and to this confederacy England gave her support. Charles was thus in a manner forced to liberate his prisoner, from whom he exacted the following harsh conditions: Burgundy was to be ceded to him in full sovereignty; Francis was to renounce his claims on Milan, Naples, and Genoa; was to re-establish the constable of Bourbon in his possessions, charges, and dignities; and to pay besides two millions of crowns as his ransom. For the due performance of these conditions his sons were to be delivered up as hostages; and he was himself to return to his imprisonment, if he should be unable to keep his word.

It was impossible that such a treaty could be carried into effect. Francis, on his return to his own kingdom, assembled the states general,

who freed him from his promises by a declaration that he was not authorized to alienate the royal domains. The states of Burgundy refused to pass under a foreign domination; and the avidity of Charles V. was baffled, as a punishment to him for having exceeded the limits of moderation. By a strange infatuation, however, the two sons of Francis were delivered up to the Spaniards.

Charles now turned his arms against the pope, who had entered into the league. Rome was sacked by the Imperialists, whose ferocity could only be compared to that of the Huns and Visigoths, under Attila and Alaric. Neither the inhabitants, nor the fine monuments of the genius of Raphael and Michael Angelo, were spared. The pope was made prisoner; and Charles the Fifth declared Francis responsible for the disasters to which Italy was a prey.

The bond of union was now more closely cemented between England and France, but without intimidating the powerful Charles, who resolved on the invasion of the latter kingdom. He inundated Provence with fifty thousand men, and laid siege to Marseilles and Arles. The defensive operations were so successfully carried on by the Marechal de Montmorency, whose troops were constantly on foot to intercept the supplies of provisions destined for the enemy, that the imperial troops were overcome by famine. Charles returned sorrowfully into Italy, after having lost the one half of his army, cut off by diseases and privations. On his passage by sea to Spain he was overtaken by a tempest which dispersed his fleet.

While these events were passing, the eldest son of Francis was taken off by poison at Madrid. This crime was ascribed to Catherine of Medicis, the wife of the duke of Orleans, who, by the death of the dauphin of France, became heir to the throne.

Pope Paul III. with difficulty brought about a reconciliation between Charles V. and Francis I. who agreed to a truce of ten years. During this truce the inhabitants of Ghent revolted against the despotism of Charles, and were desirous to put themselves under the protection of his rival, to whom they made a tender of the Netherlands. This offer was rejected by Francis. The emperor, deeming his presence necessary to quell the insurrection, demanded a passage through France, and on its being granted, paid a visit to the monarch who had been his prisoner, and whom he might have held captive during life. During his stay in France he promised to bestow the duchy of Milan on one of the infants of France; but this promise he forgot on his return to Spain.

It is unnecessary to follow him in his other attempts at universal domination, in all of which he failed. To return therefore to Francis, who had exhausted his kingdom by thirty years of warfare, he at length signed at Crespy a definitive treaty of peace with his formidable adversary. He survived this treaty only two years. He was a zealous patron of learning, and founded in the capital the college of France, which subsists to this day.

His son, Henry II., succeeded to the throne. He became the slave of the duchess of Valentinois, who had been the mistress of Francis, and who, notwithstanding she was forty years of age

succeeded in captivating the young prince. From the moment she acquired a thorough ascendency over him, he ceased to display either character or genius, or, indeed, to have any will of his own. His imbecillity inspired two factions with a desire to wield the scepture. At the head of one of them was the constable of France, who was opposed by the still more formidable party of the Guises. It was impossible for this weak monarch to prevent the elevation of the house of Lorraine. Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, had formed a very close connection with the duchess of Valentinois, who was too politic to oppose him in his ambitious projects. He was considered as the saviour of the state, having obliged the powerful Charles V. to raise the siege of Metz, and protected the kingdom against a very formidable invasion. He had assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But what contributed most effectually to his credit and glory, was the capture of Calais from the English in 1557. The siege of that place had, in 1347, been prosecuted for eleven months by the valorous Edward III. of England, after the battle of Cressy; but the duke recovered it in eight days, to the surprise of all Europe, and made amends, by this rapid conquest, for the defeat of the French in a battle before St. Quentin.

Such was at length the ascendency of the faction of the Guises, that it overawed both the monarch and the nation. It is true that the duchess of Valentinois, the patroness of this faction, had rendered herself odious by the persecution of the calvinists and protestants in ge-

neral, whose property was confiscated to her use. By these acts of cruelty and oppression, she evinced that her feigned affection for her sovereign was put on to gratify her unbounded cupidity. She engaged him in several wars which he might have avoided. In the league against the emperor Charles V. his generals did so great an injury to the cause he had embraced, by their mutual jealousies and animosities, that the struggle became ruinous to France. He was finally obliged to sign treaties of a most disadvantageous nature. By the peace which was concluded at Cambray he ceded a considerable number of fortresses to the Spaniards, and consented to restore Calais to the English at the expiration of eight years. The last article of the treaty contained the provisions that the daughter of Henry should espouse Philip II. the son of the emperor Charles V.; and Margaret, his sister, the duke of Savoy. No other step he could have taken would have been equally injurious to the French monarchy as these alliances, which were to be ascribed to the influence of the duke of Guise, and Henry's mistress, the duchess of Valentinois.

The death of this monarch was owing to an accident which befel him in the celebration of the above nuptials. He had commanded a tournament, in the course of which he was desirous to amuse the ladies, by a tilt between himself and the count of Montgommery, who was esteemed the most dexterous justler of his time. In their rencounter both their lances were broken, and the count thrown from his horse. In his fall, the broken trunk of the spear, still remaining in his

hand, struck the monarch's right eye, and produced so violent a contusion as to terminate his existence.

Francis II., his successor, ascended the throne at the age of sixteen years. As his youth rendered him incapable of governing, and as he was besides of a very delicate constitution, the duke of Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, took upon them to govern in his name. Their party was joined by Catherine of Medicis, the queen dowager, who had been declared regent *ad interim*. It was, however, her intention to break with the Guises, whenever she should find a meet opportunity, and to take the reins of the government into her own hands.

The party of the calvinists, wearied with the persecutions they had so long endured, came to a resolution to devote their lives to the defence of their liberties. The conspirators formed a powerful and numerous body, in which the catholics who were dissatisfied with the government enrolled themselves. They were secretly abetted by the prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre; and were headed by an enterprising individual named Renaudie, who had visited England, after having travelled through every part of France, and had collected a considerable body of troops.

They were confident of success. The calvinist noblemen were to present a petition to the king, praying for liberty of conscience, and permission to build temples. On his refusal, of which they were fully assured, several bodies of protestants, led by intrepid commanders, were to appear in arms, for the purpose of seizing on the

city. This being effected, they were to put to death the princes of the house of Lorraine, and to force the king to appoint the prince of Condé, who had for that purpose repaired to court, his lieutenant-general. The plot was discovered by one of those accidents which human foresight cannot guard against. The Guises displayed neither timidity nor moderation. Without being terrified by the very considerable numbers of the conspirators, who were to rendezvous at Amboise, they resolved to put the whole of them to death. The unfortunate protestants fell into their own snare: in proportion as they reached their destination by different routes, a part of them were cut in pieces, and others hung to the battlements of the chateau of Amboise. To the distance of a circumference of four leagues all those who were fallen in with were put to death, until at length, to shun the horror of too great a carnage, those who still remained alive were drowned in the Loire, which was covered with dead bodies.

The Guises were not yet satisfied with the vengeance they had inflicted; but were resolved to accomplish the ruin of the prince of Condé, and of the king of Navarre, his brother. The former having, however, obtained an audience with the king, justified himself with so much fervour and eloquence, that his enemy, the duke of Guise, was finally compelled to acknowledge his innocence.

An extraordinary assembly having been convened, to concert the means of preventing the civil war with which the nation was threatened by the religious persecutions, the celebrated admiral de Coligny presented a petition from the cal-

vinists, demanding liberty of conscience. He assured his majesty, with tears in his eyes, that there were, in the different provinces, two hundred thousand of these unfortunate individuals ready to sign the petition. It was decreed in the assembly, that such only of the protestants as should be convicted of violence or sedition, should be capitally punished.

The states general being afterwards assembled at Orleans, the prince of Condé, and the cardinal de Bourbon, were cited to appear, to answer to the old accusation of their having been concerned in the conspiracy of Amboise. The former had no sooner saluted the king, than he was arrested. His implacable enemy, the duke of Guise, had him tried, not by his peers, conformably to the law, but by a commission composed of five of his own creatures, who sentenced him to be beheaded. The sudden death of the king, which happened a few days before the sentence was to have been carried into execution, intervened to protect his person from all further outrage.

Charles IX., the younger brother of the deceased monarch, being a minor, the regency was bestowed on his mother, the haughty Catherine of Medicis. It was disputed by the king of Navarre, who was obliged to content himself with the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom. The first act of the queen mother was to liberate the prince of Condé, who was completely absolved from the crime which had been alleged against him.

The calvinists, who were still protected by all the influence of admiral Coligny, had increased prodigiously in their numbers. The progress

their doctrines had made was such, that if they had advanced a step further, calvinism would have been the predominant religion in France. The sovereign authority was forced to yield to the circumstances; and at the conferences which ensued under the name of the *colloquy of Poissy*, those who had hitherto reviled each other as papists and hugonots, were at full liberty to propound and defend their profession of faith. The young king, accompanied by the queen mother, and the whole of the court, attended at these conferences. The celebrated reformer Theodore de Beza defended the cause of the protestants, and was answered by the cardinal of Lorraine, whose discourse was so highly applauded, that the king and all his courtiers bound themselves by a promise to defend catholicism with all the power which had been delegated to them by the Divinity. The protestants, instead of being disheartened by the result of the colloquy of Poissy, became more determined than ever, and exacted from the court a promise that they should be indulged in the public exercise of their religion.

In the interim Philip II., who was justly styled the Demon of the South, manifested his indignation on the subject of the above conferences, and wrote to the queen mother, to say that, as she had abandoned the cause of religion, it became his duty to succour the kingdom, and the catholics, for which purpose he was preparing to send troops into France, in the name of the sovereign, her son, to exterminate the heretics. This was his ostensible purpose; but Philip had formed a secret league with the triumvirate, with a view to the subjugation of the Netherlands.

The triumvirate, as it was called, consisted of the duke of Guise, the constable Montmorency, and the marechal de St. André, who governed the kingdom under the authority of the queen mother, and of the king of Navarre.

The prince of Condé, and admiral Coligny, the heads of the protestant league, could find no other resource than that of a civil war. They took up arms; and on this signal the dormant enthusiasm of the reformers was rekindled, not only in France, but in Germany and the northern territories. The confederation afforded them immense resources, with which they prepared to defend the liberty of conscience so scandalously violated by their adversaries. The conflict which followed was more than a civil war: it was a religious warfare, accompanied by an exasperation which denied all mercy to the victims on either side. It would be painful to record the atrocities which were committed, as well by the baron des Adrets, by whom the protestants were headed, as by the fanatic Montluc, who commanded the catholics. The battle of Dreux, which was gained by the latter, after having been most obstinately disputed, afforded but a weak consolation in its issue to Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, as she plainly perceived that the crafty Philip, who fomented the intestine divisions, was desirous to turn them to his advantage by the invasion of the French territory.

The assassination of the duke of Guise, the secret agent of Philip, afforded her an opportunity to hold out terms of accommodation to the protestants. She accordingly published the edict of Amboise, which produced a temporary recon-

ciliation. Having become, however, in the sequel, a zealous catholic, she was engaged by the sanguinary duke d'Albe, the minister of Philip II., to engage in a new persecution of the hugonots. Her intentions were divined by the prince of Condé and admiral Coligny, who, on perceiving that six thousand Swiss mercenaries, in the pay of the queen mother, had penetrated into the kingdom, while the duke d'Albe was at the head of an army on the frontiers of Champaign, suddenly formed the hazardous enterprise of seizing on the person of the king. Having failed in this project, the prince of Condé laid siege to Paris, where the famine became at length so dreadful, that the inhabitants forced the constable Montmorency to assemble his forces, and face the enemy.

A. D. 1567. The battle which ensued was fought in the plain of St. Denis. There was a prodigious inequality between the two armies, that of the catholics being composed of twelve thousand infantry, between two and three thousand cavalry, and fourteen pieces of ordnance; while the protestants, who were the assailants, were without artillery, and could bring into the field eighteen hundred infantry only, with twelve hundred horsemen. The latter fought with all the enthusiasm which religious persecution could inspire, but were at length overpowered by the numbers of their adversaries. The constable Montmorency was mortally wounded in this conflict.

A new treaty of peace was signed with the protestants; but it lasted only six months. During that interval even secret orders were sent into the

provinces to put to death the hugonots, more than two thousand of whom were the victims of this cruel and mistaken policy. They sought a refuge in Rochelle, one of the four cities which had been assigned to them for their security; and thither the queen of Navarre retired with her son and daughter. The queen of England, Elizabeth, the protectress of the party, transmitted to them large sums of money, together with guns and ammunition. As the court had openly violated the edict of pacification, the civil war was rekindled a third time. The royal army was confided to the duke of Anjou, brother to the king, who had been created lieutenant-general at the age of fifteen years. He was as impatient to signalize himself, as his adversaries were desirous to prolong the war, by shunning a rencounter with his forces. He, however, forced the prince of Condé to an action, which was fought at Jarnac in 1569. The prince had had his leg fractured, immediately before the action, by a fall from his horse: but as soon as he was told that the royalists had charged, he rushed, wounded as he was, into the midst of the combatants. This courageous effort augmented the intrepidity of his troops, who were, however, overpowered by the number of their adversaries. Their leader was made prisoner, and assassinated by a baron de Montesquieu, captain of the royal guards.

The place of the prince of Condé was supplied by Henry, prince of Bearn, who afterwards became Henry IV. of France. He was declared chief of the league, which was joined by great numbers of protestants from every part of Europe. The efforts of the brave Coligny, to bring

new armies into the field, were unabated, and gave so much alarm to the court, that a reward of fifty thousand crowns were offered to any one who would undertake to assassinate him. He defied equally the power and the menaces of royal authority; but by an inconceivable fatality, lost another battle, that of Moncontour. This was the fourth defeat of his party, which he rallied afterwards with so much success, that the court was induced to hold out to the protestants the conditions of a third pacification, which turned out in the event to be equally treacherous with the preceding ones. To this treaty the heroic admiral was with difficulty made to assent.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, which had been concerted at the conferences held at Bayonne between Charles IX. the vindictive Catherine of Medicis, and the ferocious duke d'Albe in 1565, speedily followed the pacification. Coligny, who had been prevailed on to visit Paris, was the first victim of this massacre, which took place, not only in Paris, but throughout the provinces, on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 1572. He had been previously wounded by a hired assassin, named Maurevel, in quitting the palace of the Louvre, and was confined to his bed by his wounds, when the duke of Guise, followed by his satellites, broke open the door of his apartment. After he had been immolated to the vengeance of these insatiate monsters, his head was carried to the queen mother, who caused it to be embalmed, and sent to Rome.

In the general massacre of the protestants, the catholic priests united themselves with the soldiers, to direct the carnage. The murderers were

known to each other by the sign of the cross. They spared neither the aged and infirm, nor the women and children; and, in their blind fury, put many catholics to death. The king placed himself at a window to contemplate the butchery, and reiterated his orders that not a protestant should be spared. Several of these unfortunate victims had beset the gates of the Louvre, to implore mercy; and on these Charles and his brother fired from a balcony. His guards exercised barbarities of every description with a ferocious delight. The massacre continued during seven successive days, as well in Paris as in the principal cities of France, more particularly at Meaux, Troyes, Rouen, Bourges, Lyons, and Thoulouse. The life of the young prince of Condé, who had followed the footsteps of his father, and that of the king of Navarre, were spared.

By these atrocities a fourth civil war was engendered. The protestants who had escaped the butchery in the more distant parts of the kingdom, suddenly quitted their concealments, and possessed themselves of several fortified places. Three formidable armies were sent against the revolters, without being able to subdue them. The siege of Sancerre was rendered memorable by the resistance of its inhabitants, two thousand of whom perished by famine, rather than surrender. That of Rochelle was still more remarkable; thirty-five thousand balls were fired by the assailants, who tried nine great assaults, and twenty others of less importance. Such was the obstinacy of the besieged, that the duke of Anjou was forced to accept of two conditions, the first of which imported that he was not to enter the city, and

the second, that all the edicts made in favour of the protestants should be again confirmed. Even to this capitulation the protestants of Quercy, Languedoc, and Provence, were averse, and filled that city, as well as the other places in their possession, with troops. They demanded of the king that they should be allowed to keep garrisons in these places, for their own security. Such was the opinion entertained by the court of the extent of their resources, that this request was complied with.

A third party, made up of turbulent and discontented spirits, was suddenly formed, and united itself with the protestants. Its aim was to destroy the ascendency of the Guises, whose authority was almost unlimited, and to reform the state. This party was to be headed by the duke of Alencon, the king's brother; but the conspiracy having been discovered, two of its principal abettors were decapitated. It had, however, the effect of strengthening the cause of the protestants, who again had recourse to arms.

Amid these commotions, the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland gave a new aspect to affairs, and delivered the persecuted protestants from one of their most implacable enemies. Charles, who viewed him with a jealous eye, was not displeased with the departure of his brother, who was, on the other hand, so little gratified by the new dignity conferred on him, that it was with difficulty he could prevail on himself to quit France. His departure sensibly affected Catherine of Medicis, the queen mother, by whom he was beloved to idolatry.

Charles IX., whose health had been long on

the decline, was attacked by a very singular disease. The blood oozed from the pores of the skin; and before the crisis he fell into violent paroxysms of phrenzy. In this state he lingered during seven or eight months. He died at the age of twenty-four years, without male issue, after having declared Catherine of Medicis regent, until the return of the king of Poland, his brother and successor. His disposition was naturally vicious, and was rendered still more so by his mother, who left no expedient untried to corrupt his youth, and to render his character obdurate. Whenever there was any particular execution at the Place de Greve in Paris, she never neglected to conduct him thither, to accustom him to scenes of bloodshed.

Henry III., by which title he was proclaimed in Paris, had spent only four months in Poland, where he had conceived a violent disgust for the national usages. Instead of waiting the convocation of the states, which ought to have consented to his departure, he was no sooner apprised of his brother's death, than he formed the resolution to betake himself to flight. On his route to France, he was so terrified by the impression made by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of which he had been one of the principal authors, that he sedulously avoided the protestant states of Germany. He made a considerable stay at Venice, where he gave loose to every debauchery; while the Poles were indignant at the desertion of a monarch, whom they had elected and invited to their territory.

The protestants were become extremely powerful, by the accession of the discontented subjects

exasperated at these treasonable propositions, that he resolved to seize on the persons of those of the leaguers who were in his power, and who were the most zealous leaders of the catholic party. They were sixteen in number, and were distributed in the different quarters of Paris, where they had formed the plan to make themselves masters of the Bastile, and to assassinate the first president and members of the parliament who were attached to the king's interest, to the end that they might form a new senate entirely devoted to the league. They were apprized of Henry's intentions by one of their agents, and wrote to their patron, the duke of Guise, to come speedily to their succour.

The daring measures to which he had latterly resorted, had placed him in a kind of exile, the court having ordered him not to come to Paris without an express permission. He repaired thither, however, accompanied by a suite of seven persons, and was received by the populace with every demonstration of joy. He proceeded to the palace of the Louvre, to make his excuses; and it was there deliberated in the council, whether it would not be most expedient, to check the progress of the insurrection, to put him to death.

The king had recourse to an injudicious step, that of marching into Paris six thousand troops. This was the pretext and the signal of a general revolt. In the space of five or six hours the avenues to the public places, the ports, quays, &c. were enclosed by chains. Barricades were formed with logs of wood, and casks filled with earth. The troops having been hemmed in on all sides,

were forced to lay down their arms; and the king and queen mother obliged to implore the aid of their rebellious subject the duke of Guise, who prevailed on the citizens to desist from further hostilities. They had already murdered a part of the Swiss guards.

The king fled to Chartres, deputing to the queen mother the task of negociating with the duke of Guise, who seized on the Bastile, the Arsenal, the two Chatelets, the Temple, and the Hotel de Ville. He permitted, however, a deputation of the parliament to proceed to the king, whom he forced to declare himself head of the league, and to submit to all the acts of the rebellious faction. The states general having been assembled at Blois, the duke of Guise brought over to his party the majority of the nobility, clergy, and commoners, who declared at their second sitting, that all their resolutions were inviolable laws, and that the royal assent should in future be considered as a superfluous act of authority. It was their final intention to immure Henry in a convent, and to bestow the crown on the duke of Guise. The princes of the blood who had sided with the protestants were excluded from their deliberations.

To counteract their machinations, Henry resolved to rid himself of their chief; and for this purpose made choice of several trusty agents, who were so stationed as to remove every suspicion of their purpose. While the duke was at the council of the states, which he swayed at his will, a message was brought to him that the king wished to see him on an affair of great moment. He had no sooner entered the royal

apartment, than he was surrounded by the assassins, one of whom seized his sword and plunged it into his heart. His brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, who came to his aid, was likewise put to death. The king instantly proceeded to the apartment of the queen mother, to announce that, as the *king of Paris* was no more, he should in future hold the sovereignty without control. The mother of the two murdered princes demanded their bodies for interment; but this request was refused by the king, from an apprehension that the people would make relics of them. The flesh was therefore consumed by quick lime, and the bones burned.

The assassination of the Guises excited an insurrection throughout all France. The people prostrated themselves at the altars, and demanded the death of *the tyrant*, the only appellation they could bestow on their sovereign, whose portraits were defaced, his statues broken, and his arms dragged through the kennels. A new parliament having been convened, and the league declared necessary, the duke of Mayenne, the surviving brother of the murdered princes, was named by the leaguers lieutenant general of the state and crown of France. Henry issued orders for his arrest; but he eluded every pursuit. His portrait was publicly exposed, decorated with the crown. As he rejected, however, the regal dignities, which were tendered to him by the council of the states, and by the holy union, as it was denominated, a particular seal was made by the confederates, with the arms of France on one side, and a vacant throne on the other.

On perceiving that the revolt was general

among his catholic subjects, and that he was in danger of being invested at Tours by the troops of the league, Henry made a truce with the protestants, and called to his aid the king of Navarre, their general, to defend the crown. The union which followed between the royalists and protestants redoubled the fury of the leaguers, who solicited the duke of Mayenne, the leader of their troops, to make forced marches to Tours. But for his negligence, the king might have been surprised in one of the suburbs of that place.

Henry, and his brother-in-law, Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, quitted Tours at the head of their respective armies, and proceeded towards Paris, to which they laid siege. After some time the inhabitants of the capital were assailed by famine, and manifested so much impatience, that the duke of Mayenne resolved to make his way, at the head of his troops, through the encampment of the two kings, and either to rout and disperse the troops, or to perish in the attempt. This hazardous project gave place to another which presented fewer difficulties. The catholics had been wound up to such a degree of enthusiasm as well by their priests, as by the female relatives of the murdered Guises, that it was not difficult to find a fit instrument for the assassination of the king. A young Jacobin, named Jacques Clement, aged only twenty-two years, was selected for this atrocious purpose. Having been furnished with a passport and credentials, he repaired to St. Cloud, and, putting on the devout air of a penitent, informed the guards of the palace that he had been sent by the faithful servants of his majesty

in Paris, to make communications which were of the highest importance to his service. He added that it was absolutely necessary for him to see the king himself, to whom alone he could impart what he had to say. He was desirous to be introduced on the evening of his arrival; but the interview was put off until the following morning. Having made a hearty supper, Clement slept so soundly that he was not awaked without some difficulty.

At seven in the morning of the first day of August, 1589, he was introduced into the royal presence, and spoke aside, at a window, to Henry, who listened to him with the profoundest attention. He presented to him a forged credential; and while the monarch was busied in perusing it, he drew a knife from his sleeve, and plunged it in his body. Henry withdrew the knife, and struck the monster in the face. On hearing the noise which ensued, the guards ran to the spot, and murdered the assassin. His body was quartered and burned, by order of the king of Navarre. The wound of Henry was soon ascertained to be mortal: he had merely time to confess, to call for the king of Navarre, and to declare him his successor. He died in his thirty-eighth year.

The transports of the Parisians, when they were informed of his death, are not to be described. Bonfires were lighted in all the squares; and the duchess of Montpensier, the sister of the Guises, paraded the streets in her carriage, to give an eclat to the rejoicings. The portrait of Jacques Clement was placed over the altars; and the multitude proceeded to the suburb in which

his mother dwelt, to congratulate her on having borne a son who was enrolled among the saints of paradise. Finally, the catholics were united to the protestants in their hatred to the unfortunate monarch, whose death did not tend to lessen the universal detestation in which he was held.

After the demise of Henry III., his successor Henry IV., commonly styled the Great, was beset by perplexities. It was to be apprehended that the Parisians, who were besieged, and the catholics, by whom the siege was conducted, would unite their efforts to exclude him from the throne. The majority of the latter, who were ten times more numerous than the protestants, refused to acknowledge him. Three only of the seignors took the oaths of fidelity, the others holding out in expectation that Henry would win them over to his side by grants of provinces and cities, which they were desirous to hold in full sovereignty, and thus revive the ancient feodal government.

On another hand, the partizans of the duke of Mayenne solicited him to take the title of king. As this would have been a very imprudent step, he contented himself with the pompous appellation of lieutenant of the crown; but being aware that the duke of Lorraine meditated the plan of bestowing the sovereign authority on his son, he caused the cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry, to be proclaimed. In short, had it not been for the divisions which ensued, in the league that was formed against him, Henry's cause would have been irretrievably lost.

Notwithstanding policy at length induced him to embrace the catholic religion, he could not

shun the persecution of pope Gregory XIV, who leagued with the ambitious Philip II. of Spain the constant persecutor of the reigning branch of the Bourbons. The latter declared the throne vacant, and insisted on the marriage of the infanta of Spain with the duke of Guise, who was to be invested with the sovereign authority. The pope at the same time issued a bull, to excommunicate the princes, cardinals, prelates, and, in general, all the clergy, nobility, and commoners, who should remain obedient to Henry IV. His parliament, which had been transferred from Paris to Tours, ordered this bull to be torn and burned by the common executioner; declared the pope the enemy of the peace of the church; and prohibited the transmissal of any further sums to Rome for the provision of the benefices.

On the decease of the cardinal of Bourbon, Henry weakened the party of the duke of Mayenne, by liberating the young duke of Guise, who soon drew over to his side a great number of the factious. The interests of the leaguers being thus disunited, and the people wearied with the state of civil warfare which was kept up, Henry resolved to bring the contest to an immediate issue. He adopted the decisive system of battles, which could alone surmount the complicated difficulties that lay in his way. Surrounded as he was by a multitude of enemies, his magnanimity forsook him on one occasion only, when he retreated towards Dieppe, on hearing of the approach of the duke of Mayenne's army. His partizans trembled; and it was debated whether it would not be prudent for him to embark,

and seek shelter in England. He would have adopted this measure, had it not been for the remonstrances of the marechal de Biron, who frankly told him that to quit France at such a conjuncture, even for twenty-four hours, would be to doom himself to perpetual banishment.

He fortified himself at Arques, where he gained a victory which paved the way to his future conquests. He proceeded to the attack of the suburbs of the rebellious city of Paris, but had the imprudence to raise the siege with too great a precipitation. He was afterwards guilty of the same capital fault in besieging Rouen. It was his great wish to bring the duke of Mayenne and his leaguers into an open territory, where his troops might have full scope to act. He accordingly feigned a retreat, and was followed by his adversary, who was persuaded that his army, thrown into disorder by their flight, might be advantageously encountered. Henry's stratagem, which was well planned, was carried into execution with equal adroitness, and crowned with success. He defeated the army of the leaguers in the plains of Ivry; but by a fatality too common to great generals, he did not take advantage of his victory. He had only to make his appearance at the gates of Paris, to have them opened to him; instead of which he allowed fanaticism to take its course, and did not present himself before the capital until its siege became a desperate enterprise. As a part of the Parisians had, however, been brought over to his side by his conversion to the catholic faith, the duke of Mayenne, and the partizans of Philip of Spain, declared that the king was not to be considered

as a catholic, until the pope had declared him to be so, and had granted him absolution. His claims were thus at the disposal of the church of Rome.

That he might not neglect any of the means which could have a direct influence on the minds of the people, he had himself crowned at Chartres, in 1594. When this event was announced to the duke of Mayenne, he considered that he was no longer in safety in Paris, and took up his residence at Soissons. The duke of Guise, and Philip II. of Spain, each of whom had his particular pretensions, were secretly rejoiced at the absence of the duke from the capital.

While the count of Brissac, governor of Paris, the president of parliament, and the mayor, concerted the means of delivering the city into the hands of the king, he frustrated their intentions in his favour by a blockade, which was productive of the greatest calamities. The famine became so great within the walls of Paris, that mothers were known to devour their own children. The bones were taken from the burial grounds, and ground and reduced into a paste, to be converted into food. The protestants suffered in common with the catholics; and these horrors lasted for six months. Notwithstanding nearly twenty thousand individuals had perished with famine, the wretched inhabitants, who imputed all their calamities to Henry, were still inflexible. He was at length so much affected by their heroic constancy, that he permitted them to receive a supply of provisions.

This obstinate defence was made by the sixteen viceroys of Paris, who presided in the different

quarters and exercised a sovereign sway. They were consulted by Philip of Spain; and the pope entertained so high a respect for them, that he ordered the cardinal legate to be governed by their opinion. They hung three members of the parliament, who proposed to capitulate to Henry. The latter had no other support than that of Elizabeth of England, and of a few protestant princes, to oppose to the weight of the confederacy. His abjuration was extremely displeasing to his protestant subjects, and had but a weak tendency to conciliate the esteem of the catholics.

The leaguers were, however, sensibly on the decline. By the dint of negociations and promises Henry had gained over to his cause the one half of the provinces, when the governor of Paris, Brissac, caused the gates of the city to be opened to his troops, who entered at four different points at the same time, and took possession of the arsenal, the palace, the two Chatelets, the gates, and the bridges. The king made his public entry soon after, and was conducted to the Louvre. The reduction of the refractory provinces soon followed.

Having obtained absolution from pope Clement VIII. Henry's catholic subjects returned to their obedience, and tranquillity was restored in every part of his dominions. He granted to the duke of Mayenne, who had been his most formidable rival, the sovereignty of the cities of Soissons and Chalons sur Saone. Perceiving that Philip of Spain had his secret emissaries in France, to foment disturbances, he declared war against that monarch, whose army he defeated

at Fontaine. Amiens was afterwards surprised by the Spaniards, but soon recovered by Henry, whose nobility made the greatest sacrifices in carrying on this popular war, the expences of which were in a great measure defrayed by their voluntary contributions. Their patriotic ardour led to the peace which was concluded at Vervins, in 1598. The principal condition was, that each of the crowns should restore what it had conquered from the other since the treaty of Cambresis made in 1559.

Being unable to introduce the protestant religion into France, Henry granted to his old friends the calvinists, who had been his defenders, and by whose aid he had ascended the throne, the celebrated edict of Nantz, which was afterwards revoked by Louis XIV. By this wise and benevolent edict, he destroyed the germs of sedition which threatened his states with new convulsions. He was not, however, entirely free from intestine troubles. Several of the nobility, who considered that they had not been sufficiently rewarded for their services, entered into a conspiracy which was headed by the duke of Biron. The conspirators kept up a correspondence with the house of Austria, which was hostile to the views of Henry. Their plot was speedily discovered; and their leader decapitated in the Bastile.

Henry recalled the Jesuits, who had been precedently banished by the parliament. He was persuaded that by affording them protection he should disarm their fanaticism; but as he was not unacquainted with their vindictive spirit, he made it a condition of the edict of their recal,

that one of them should be constantly in his suite, to answer personally for the actions of the company. This humiliating clause they converted to their own advantage. It enabled them to have constant access to the sovereign, whose ear they assailed with the grossest flatteries. To this source they owed their credit and elevation.

The inordinate passion of Henry for women clouded all his rare qualities. To satisfy his brutal lust, he had recourse to the vilest disguises, and to the most infamous plans of seduction. He divorced himself from Margaret of Valois, and afterwards espoused Mary of Medicis, but without quitting his career of libertinism. He was the slave of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he had promised to make his queen. He was likewise enamoured of Henriette d'Entrargues, the daughter of a mistress of Charles IX., to whom he bound himself by a contract of marriage after the death of his first queen. The count d'Entrargues, the father of this lady, was so exasperated at the refusal of Henry to fulfil the engagement, that he formed a conspiracy into which he drew all the discontented nobles, and which was abetted by the king of Spain. The conspirators were apprehended, and having been tried by the parliament, sentence of death was pronounced on the counts d'Entrargues and Auvergne, who were, however, pardoned by the royal clemency.

Henry's attention was now diverted to the affairs of the Netherlands. By his perseverance and firmness, the Dutch, who had been long persecuted by their governor, the duke d'Albe, were enabled to throw off the yoke of Spain. While

he was busied in making preparations to carry the war into the Spanish territory, Henry was assassinated on the 14th of May 1610 by a fanatic named Ravaillac. He had got into his carriage at four in the afternoon, to pay a visit to his minister Sully. He had been followed for eight days by the regicide, who had a poignard in his hand, and had not quitted the side of the carriage since its departure from the palace of the Louvre. In the *rue de la Feronnerie*, a very narrow street, there was a stoppage, which induced the monarch to alight from his carriage. While he was stepping out, the assassin stabbed him twice with his poignard. The second blow was fatal. The lifeless body was conveyed to the Louvre. Thus perished Henry IV. styled the Great, sincerely lamented by his subjects, for whom he had unceasingly manifested a paternal affection. His murderer, Ravaillac, was put to death by the most horrid tortures whch cruelty could devise.

Mary of Medicis, the widowed queen of Henry IV. was declared regent, and formed a close alliance with the Spaniards, whom Henry had prepared to attack. With a view to support her authority, and to counteract the enterprises of the grandees, who manifested a turbulent spirit, she formed new alliances, which destroyed all the effect of the past operations. Her council was governed by Florentin Concini, and by his wife Galigai, who acquired a prodigious ascendency over her weak mind. In the interim the house of Austria, which was become so powerful that it had been Henry's view to check its career, continued to aggrandize itself, notwithstanding the losses it had sustained in the Nether-

hands. To reward her satellites, and to gain over the more powerful of the nobility, she exhausted the treasury which it had been the principal care of Henry's minister, Sully, to replenish. The parliament having remonstrated on this waste of the public treasures, she published an act by which it was prohibited for the future from taking any cognizance of public affairs.

This arbitrary measure rendered the magistracy more firm in its decisions. It asserted its right, not only to remonstrate, but to lay before the young king, Louis XIII. the grievances of which it had to complain. The prince of Condé declared for the parliament, and a confederacy was formed by all the factious leaders, more particularly by those of the calvinist party. The army which they assembled was, however, very inferior to that of the royalists. The youthful monarch proceeded to the frontier, to receive his queen, at the head of a powerful body of troops. On his return, after the marriage had been solemnized with the greatest pomp, he was, as well as the whole of his court, on the point of being surprised by the army of the confederates. His consort was so much terrified, that she hastily offered to the malcontents whatever they could desire. The result was that a peace was signed at Loudun; and the prince of Condé left at full liberty to dictate the conditions. He obtained four or five cities for the security of his adherents, on whom several important posts were bestowed, and negociated so successfully for the calvinists, that all the edicts which had been promulged in their favour were confirmed.

The prince of Condé was so much dazzled by

his good fortune, that he did not perceive the snare into which he was about to fall. On his arrival at the court, he was arrested and thrown into prison. The enraged populace, on the receipt of this intelligence, assembled before the hotel of Concini, the favourite of the queen regent, who fortunately made his escape. He had been created marechal, with the title of marquis d'Ancre, and held the young king, who had now assumed the reins of government, in a state of bondage. The confederacy having been crushed by the imprisonment of its leader, his authority became unlimited; and Louis had to deplore the abject state in which he was kept, still more than ever, by the queen mother, and her minion the marechal d'Ancre.

The monarch had a favourite named de Luynes, who, under the guise of great simplicity, contrived to accomplish by degrees the destruction of their power. He at length wrought so powerfully on the mind of Louis, that the death of the marechal d'Ancre was resolved on. On his entering the avenue of the Louvre, to repair to the council, Vitry, captain of the body guards, demanded his sword. While he was in the act of laying his hand on it, either to obey, or to defend himself, he was assassinated on the drawbridge. The king, who appeared at the balcony of the palace, witnessed the joy of the populace at the death of a tyrant who was universally detested.

Care had been taken to disarm the guards of the queen mother, who demanded an interview with her son, but unsuccessfully. She was exiled to Blois, where she shortly after learned that her

favourite Galigai, the widow of the unfortunate marechal d'Ancre, had been condemned and executed.

De Luynes now obtained so powerful an ascendency over Louis XIII., who was doomed to be constantly governed by his ministers, that over the gate of the hotel in which this new minister resided with his two brothers, one of his enemies inscribed the words: "the hotel of the three kings." He concentrated in his own person the whole of the authority; and would not allow the interview which the exiled queen mother persisted in demanding of her son. Her haughty spirit urged her at length to address herself to several of the nobility, and, among others, to the duke d'Epernon, governor of Metz, who undertook her deliverance. He accomplished this bold enterprise, and conveyed her to a place of security. Du-Plessis Richelieu, bishop of Lucon, who was afterwards so celebrated as a minister, brought about a reconciliation between Louis XIII. and his mother, who was invested with the government of Anjou. For this service the pope bestowed on Richelieu a cardinal's hat, He became minister of state on the death of de Luynes; and the queen mother was admitted to the council, over which she had an absolute sway. Thus were the national concerns conducted without the participation of the king.

The protestants were accused of a design to form France into an independent republic, to be divided into eight circles, on the model of those of Germany. They were headed by two brothers, Rohan and Soubise, both of them accomplished soldiers, and the former one of the most pro-

found politicians of his age. The king, at the head of his army, attacked and defeated Soubise in the isle of Ries, separated from Lower Poitou by a small arm of the sea. He afterwards subdued Montpellier, and several of the refractory cities of Languedoc, to prove that he was not deficient in personal courage, however he might want the vigour of character necessary to the government of a vast empire. Having been baffled in his subsequent attempts by the fertile resources of Rohan, he restored to the protestants the privileges granted to them by the edict of Nantes.

Cardinal Richelieu, who was now firmly seated in his administration, formed a secret league with the enemies of Spain. He renewed the treaty with the Dutch: encouraged the faction in Catalognia; and, having afforded succour to the Grisons, procured them a peace which suspended the armaments of Austria. A plot having been formed against his life, he had the address to persuade the king that his own person was in danger. The conspiracy was traced to the followers of Gaston, the brother of Louis, who was himself highly displeased with the management of Richelieu. The count of Chablais, the grand master of Gaston's wardrobe, was decapitated; and Ornano, his governor, poisoned in the Bastile. The Vendomes, and his other favourites, were either exiled, or imprisoned. Richelieu, on account of the peril he had escaped, had a company of guards assigned him for his security. As he was jealous of every rival authority, he rejoiced in the opportunity of abolishing that of constable of France, which was afforded him by the death of Lesdiguieres. He afterwards obliged

Montmorency to resign the dignities of high admiral, a post which he likewise abolished.

Having now become master of the court, the armies, and the fleets, he carried into execution the plan he had long meditated, that of waging war against the protestants, whom he was resolved to exterminate. He accordingly laid siege to Rochelle, which was the bulwark and head quarters of the protestant party. On this occasion he acted as commander in chief; but took care to be accompanied by the king, for fear his enemies should take advantage of his absence. The protestants implored the aid of England; but were thwarted in their expectations by the tardy measures of the duke of Buckingham. The garrison and inhabitants of Rochelle were resolved, however, to hold out until the last extremity. They were at length obliged to yield to the active genius of the cardinal, who triumphed over the calvinists, and deprived them of their most insignificant privileges. Fifteen thousand individuals perished during the above siege.

It remained for Richelieu to humble the house of Austria, for which purpose he opposed at one and the same time the emperor and the king of Spain. He cut off the communication of the Austrian forces, by taking possession of the Valteline, an important passage situated in the centre of the Alps. To afford succour to the duke of Mantua, he carried the war into Italy; and by this measure obliged the emperor to raise the siege of Cazal. Having finally forced the passage of Suze, he defeated the allies of the protestants, whom he reduced to obedience.

The Duke of Savoy having violated the treaty

he had recently entered into, Richelieu crossed the Alps a second time, and, having carried Pignerol by storm, took possession of the whole of his dominions. He was now declared, by letters patent, to be lieutenant general representing the person of the king; and, to flatter his vanity, the title of generalissimo was bestowed on him, to distinguish him from the marechals of France, who were simply his lieutenants.

In the interim the queen mother was become the most inveterate enemy of the cardinal minister, whom she endeavoured to bring into disgrace, notwithstanding he had rendered such important services to the throne. She denounced him to her son as a traitor whose aim was either to possess himself of the crown, or to bestow it on Louis, the count of Soissons, on condition that the latter should espouse one of his nieces. Richelieu, in return, augmented the antipathy which subsisted between the queen mother and the king. As he had closely studied his sovereign, it was not difficult for him to sway his mistrustful, envious, credulous, and jealous character. He succeeded so well, that when he demanded permission to resign, Louis ordered him peremptorily to continue at his post. His power was now established for ever. On the following day all his enemies were either exiled or banished. One of the Marillacs, the favourites of the queen mother, was decapitated, and the other thrown into prison, where he fell a victim to despair.

The brother of Louis, Gaston, instigated by the queen mother, retired to Orleans, and levied a body of troops to dethrone his sovereign. The queen mother herself quitted the kingdom, and

the young queen, who was suspected to be privy to the plot, was disgraced. Gaston proceeded to Lorraine, where he collected a few followers, and was afterwards well received by the states of Languedoc, as well as by the duke of Montmorency, the governor of that province, who declared himself, in a manifesto, lieutenant general of the king for the reformation of the disorders which had been introduced into the government by cardinal de Richelieu. The war which ensued was but of a short duration. The duke of Montmorency, after a most valorous defence, was made prisoner, and decapitated, by the order of the inflexible minister, at Thoulouse, the capital of his government. Gaston was pardoned on the condition of his renouncing all further communication with the queen mother. Instead of keeping his word, he set out for Brussels a few days after, to join her in her retreat.

Reciprocal complaints having long subsisted between the French and Spaniards, war became inevitable. Richelieu suddenly marched to the frontiers six armies, one of which, commanded by a skilful general, Gassion, covered Rouissillon, and favoured the insurgents in Catalonia. He neglected, however, to secure Picardy, into which the Spaniards penetrated, and made themselves masters of Corbie. The inhabitants of the capital trembled for their safety; and Louis himself was under so great a degree of apprehension, that it required all the address of Richelieu to tranquillize his mind.

The king's brother, Gaston, and the count of Soissons, wearied with the despotism exercised by the cardinal minister, formed a plot to have

him assassinated on his leaving the council chamber. Gaston was to give the signal to the assassins who had been hired for the perpetration of this crime; but displayed an irresolution which saved the life of the minister. Having become acquainted with the plot, Richelieu forced the king to march at the head of his troops against the presumptive heir of the crown, whom he brought back to obedience. Those who had participated, by their silence even, in the conspiracy against his life, he treated as criminals. The slightest indiscretions were, in short, punished as political crimes, by this arbitrary minister, who had acquired over his weak sovereign an influence which rendered his authority tantamount to that of the ancient mayors of the palace. Finding it impracticable to gain over the count of Soissons, who declared himself in constant opposition to his measures, he treacherously obtained possession of his person, and caused him to be put to death. To rid himself of another of his enemies, he sent the duke of Vendome into exile. The unfortunate Catharine of Medicis, the widow of the great Henry IV., mother, or mother-in-law, of four sovereigns, three of them the most powerful crowned heads of Europe, died at Cologn in a state of extreme indigence.

In the interim, the French arms were successful against the house of Austria. Catalonia was separated from Spain, and fell to the lot of Louis, whose earliest design was to form it into a republic. It was deemed, however, more prudent to allow the Catalonians to preserve their privileges, and to keep the ancient form of their government and constitution. This event was speedily fol-

lowed by the revolution of Portugal, which shook off the yoke of Spain, and became a serviceable ally to France. The rapidity of the conquests directed by the skilful combinations of Richelieu, had effected the junction of the French and Swedish armies, and inspired terror in every part of Germany. Thus, while this great minister tyrannized both over his sovereign and the court, he extended the glory of the French name to distant territories, silencing the enemies of the monarchy, and forcing all the European powers to yield to the vigilance and address of his administration. With respect to Louis, he rendered him more submissive than ever to the mandates of his arbitrary authority.

The health of the sovereign was visibly on the decline, and that of Richelieu in a very precarious state. The minister flattered himself, notwithstanding, that he should outlive his master; and took the necessary measures to secure to himself the regency. He had already married his niece to the prince of Condé; and, relying on the support of that house, at the head of which was a prince well calculated to govern, he flattered himself that he should be enabled to dispossess, without difficulty, a female who had not the slightest share of influence, as well as the feeble Gaston, who had drawn on himself an universal contempt. He attached to the person of the king a young nobleman named Cinq-Mars, the son of the marechal d'Effiat, to the end that he might be put in possession of the monarch's most secret thoughts. The new favourite gradually acquired such a degree of power and credit at the court, that he formed the project of seizing on the

administration, and ruining his benefactor. To divert the impending storm which hung over his head, Richelieu engaged Louis to undertake the conquest of Rouissillon, as being absolutely necessary to support the revolt of the refractory provinces of Spain.

Louis, in a very infirm state, was forced to march to the Spanish frontier, while Richelieu took another route with a more than princely retinue. Cinq-Mars had the temerity to unite with the dukes of Bouillon and Orleans, both of them inimical to Richelieu, and to conclude a treaty with the Spaniards without the privity of the king. He flattered himself that, by his officiousness on this occasion, he should gratify the wishes of the monarch, who panted after the tranquillity of the capital; and should bring into disgrace the minister who had counselled the expedition. He was, however, mistaken. The conspirators, as they were stiled, were apprehended by the vigilance of Richelieu, who procured a copy of the treaty they had signed with Spain. The duke of Bouillon was arrested at the head of his army; the duke of Orleans in Auvergne; and Cinq-Mars at Narbonne. They were arraigned for high treason. The two former were exiled; and the latter decapitated at the age of twenty-two years, deeply lamented by his sovereign.

Richelieu returned to Paris in triumph, but with all the symptoms of an approaching dissolution. He was carried in a kind of portable chamber, resembling a litter, by fifty of his guards, who were relieved hourly. In this conveyance, he lay extended on a magnificent bed, having at its side a long seat for the persons who attended

on him during his route, and endeavoured to sooth the acute sufferings of disease. After a journey of two hundred leagues, he alighted at his hotel in Paris, which was beset by a multitude of persons anxious to contemplate this victorious minister, who had defeated his own private enemies, and triumphed over those of the state. On his wan and palid countenance were to be seen all the symptoms of decay; but he was still cheerful and serene. Having lingered in this way for a short time, he expired in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his ministry. During his last agonies the king was seen to smile, as if, by his death, he was to be put in possession of the sovereign authority.

Louis, who was doomed to survive his minister a few months only, when he found his end approaching, established a sovereign council, over which the prince of Condé and cardinal Mazarin were appointed to preside. His dying will was, however, annulled by a decree of parliament, which bestowed the absolute regency on Anne of Austria, the dowager queen. He died at the age of forty-three years. After having remained in a wedded state twenty-three years without children, and having become a valetudinarian, he had two sons, Louis XIV. and Philip duke of Orleans.

Anne of Austria, the queen regent, had many of the defects of Mary of Medicis. It is true that she possessed a greater firmness, which, however, degenerated into obstinacy. Notwithstanding Mazarin had been the disciple of Richelieu, her mortal enemy, she made choice of him as her minister, and protected him against the attacks of the nobility, by whom he was utterly disliked.

The prince of Condé, who commanded her armies, gave, by his conquests, an extraordinary lustre to her regency. She was successful in the conduct of public affairs; and displayed on every trying occasion a consummate prudence.

The extreme avarice of Mazarin soon exposed him to universal odium. In having recourse to every possible expedient to fill his own coffers, he neglected to follow up any studied plan of finance, and constantly harassed the subjects by new and vexatious imposts. The necessities of the state served to augment his own opulence; and, if he was less dreaded, he was more hated than Richelieu, from whom he had derived his lessons of state policy. He was rendered extremely unpopular by the treaty of the Pyrenees, by virtue of which France had to make great sacrifices to Spain, and was afterwards involved in wars *with* nearly the whole of the powers of Europe. But his greatest fault was his neglect of the education of Louis XIV., to whom he would allow no other accomplishments than those of dancing, fencing, and riding, insomuch that when that prince was drawing on towards manhood, he scarcely knew how to pen a letter. Mazarin was, at the same time, an advocate for the liberty of the press, and an encourager of learning. His example was followed by the regent, Anne of Austria, who, *in* addressing herself to a timid bookseller, by whom she had been consulted relative to a work he was fearful to print, made use of the following expressions. "Print, and be under no apprehensions. "I shall be constantly the protectress of the truth: "Render the vices odious, and let the virtues "flourish in France."

CHAPTER VI.

Wars between France and the Allied Powers—That ambitious Monarch Louis XIV. *humbled by the glorious campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough—The Mississippi Scheme contrived by Law—Wars between England and France.*

A. D. 1660. WE proceed now to the memorable reign of Louis XIV. On the death of Mazarin, who left behind him a detested memory, and immense riches, Louis resolved to take on himself the superintendance and management of the affairs of the nation. Having been informed that the duke of Crequi, his ambassador at Rome, had been insulted by the relations of the pope, and that the latter had refused satisfaction for the affront, he sent into Italy an army commanded by the marechal du Plessis Praslin, destined to besiege Rome. On the receipt of this intelligence the sovereign pontiff sent his own brother, cardinal Chigi, to Paris, to demand forgiveness. This was not the only triumph of Louis, who, pretty nearly at the same time, forced his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain, to yield to the superiority of his arms. His penetration led him to make choice of Colbert as a minister; and under the guidance of this able man, France attained a degree of prosperity she had never before enjoyed. It was on his suggestion that Louis purchased Mardyck and Dunkirk, for five millions of livres, of Charles II. of

England, whose profusion led him to give up these important possessions, which the blood of the English had so dearly bought.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain, opened to Louis the career of the conquests, which acquired him the title of great. Being resolved to assert the real or pretended rights he had acquired, by his marriage with Maria Theresa of Austria, to the Cambresis, Franche-Comté, Luxembourg, and a great part of the Spanish Netherlands, he entered Flanders at the head of an army of thirty-five thousand men. Another army of eight thousand men, commanded by the marechal d'Aumont, marched towards Dunkirk; and a third body of troops towards the territory of Luxembourg. He took possession of Charleroi without obstacle; and in the space of two days, Ath, Tournai, Furnes, Armentiere, and Courtrai, surrendered to his arms. Lille itself, defended by fourteen royal bastions, and by twenty thousand men, was forced to capitulate. The count of Marsin, who hastened to its succour, was defeated with a great loss. The task of fortifying the conquered cities was entrusted to Vauban; and Louis returned in triumph to Versailles.

Under these circumstances was formed the triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland, which made so powerful an impression on the French monarch, that he offered to renounce the rights he had acquired by his marriage, provided Spain would give up to him her conquests in the Netherlands. This proposition being refused, the prince of Condé was sent with a powerful army into Franche-Comté, the whole of which he subjugated in the space of seventeen

days. This new acquisition was surrendered to Spain by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Louis having broken the triple alliance, and brought over Sweden to his side, resolved to humble the republic of Holland, of the sudden and excessive aggrandisement of which he was jealous. He accordingly assembled an army of a hundred thousand men, which he divided into four bodies. One of these he commanded in person; and had Turenne under his orders. The second was commanded by the prince of Condé; the third by the marechal de Crequi; and the fourth by the duke of Luxembourg, who had orders to unite his forces with those of the bishop of Munster. After the surrender of Rhinberg, Wesel, Orfroi, and Burick, which were considered as the keys of Holland, to the victorious arms of Turenne, the king, on the suggestion of the prince of Condé, came to a resolution to ford the Rhine. This bold enterprise was executed by his troops, in the presence of two regiments of infantry, and several squadrons of horse, entrenched on the other bank under the command of General Wurtz. The province of Utrecht became an easy conquest; and the Dutch were under such apprehensions for the fate of their country, that they sent deputies to the king of England, to solicit his mediation. It was granted; but failed of its effect.

The Dutch, become desperate, resolved rather to perish in their lakes and canals, than to surrender up their liberties. The majority of the princes of Germany declared in their favour; and they had every confidence in the prince of Orange, who had been recently elevated to the dignity of stadtholder. He made a sham attack by sea on

Bommel; and while the French general hastened to the succour of that place, invested and took possession of Naerden. The prince of Condé was forced to retreat with his army; and the united provinces of Holland were lost to France.

To repair this misfortune, Louis resolved on the conquest of Franche-Comté, which he accomplished in a single campaign, notwithstanding the gallant Turenne, who headed the French troops, had many obstacles to encounter. The French monarch had to contend against Spain, the empire, and Holland. After several combats, the issue of which was not decisive, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball. The posture of affairs was changed by this disastrous event. Montecuculli, the general who commanded one of the confederated armies, penetrated into Alsace; and the marechal de Crequi, was defeated and made prisoner in his endeavour to throw succours into Treves.

It was now agreed that the belligerent powers, who were exhausted by the losses they had sustained, should send their plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen. The negociations were, however, drawn out to such a length, that the war was renewed with an increased impetuosity. The year 1672 was distinguished by three naval conflicts in the Mediterranean between the fleets of France and Holland. In the second of these engagements the gallant Dutch admiral de Ruyter was slain. The French arms were signalized in Flanders by the conquest of several fortified places. Louis commanded in person, and had under him five marechals of France, between whom and the celebrated Vauban a violent dispute arose at the siege

of Valenciennes, relative to the attack which was to be made. The marechals contended that it should be undertaken in the dead of the night; but Louis yielded to the arguments of Vauban in favour of an attack by day, and met with the most brilliant success. The possession of St. Omer soon followed this victory. On this occasion the king of Spain solicited the prince of Orange to risk a battle, as the only means of saving the place: he did so, but the day was won by the French. About the same time, the marechal de Crequi, who had been released from his imprisonment, attacked and defeated the duke of Lorraine, in the view of whose forces he took possession of Fribourg.

The negociations were renewed by the king of England, who came forward as mediator. The plenipotentiaries assembled once more at Nimeguen, where those who had been sent by Holland negociated for themselves and for Spain. The treaty was signed in the month of August 1678. All the possessions which had been wrested from them were surrendered to the Dutch; and Louis added to his dominions Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and a part of Flanders.

Having been informed that the Genoese had supplied the Algerines with galleys and warlike stores, he dispatched from Toulon a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, ten bomb ships, and several frigates, to act against Genoa. In the bombardment of that city, fourteen thousand shells were thrown with a terrible effect. The greater part of the city was reduced to ashes, and four thousand troops debarked from the fleet to destroy one of the suburbs. To prevent the total destruction

of the republic, the doge and four of the principal senators were forced to set out for Versailles, to implore the clemency of Louis XIV.

In 1688 he found himself engaged in a war with England, Holland, and Germany. The chief pretext for this war was the infraction of the treaty of Nimeguen by the French monarch. His principal army, which was commanded by the dauphin, invested Philipsburgh, the siege of which was conducted by Vauban. It surrendered on the ninth day after the trenches had been opened; and the capture of several other places followed. Spire, Worms, Treves, and Oppenheim, opened their gates on the appearance of the French, who rendered the palatinate a desert by the ravages they committed.

The emperor brought three armies into the field against France. The prince of Waldeck was in Flanders at the head of thirty-three thousand Batavian troops, with whom a junction was formed by ten thousand English, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, and a corps of Spaniards detached by the governor of the Netherlands. A detachment of the Imperialists was defeated by the French general Boufflers; but, to compensate for this miscarriage, the prince of Waldeck obtained a complete victory over the French general d'Humieres at Walcour. The marechal de Catinat attacked and defeated at Stassarde the army of the duke of Savoy, who had signed a treaty of alliance with the emperor and the king of Spain. Four thousand of his troops were slain; and this memorable defeat led to the conquest of the whole of Savoy by the French.

In Flanders the face of affairs was totally

changed by the arrival of the marechal de Luxembourg, who took the command of the French armies. At the battle of Fleurus, he obtained a signal victory over the allies, commanded by the prince of Waldeck, by whom his predecessor had been defeated. They lost six thousand in killed; eight hundred prisoners; two hundred standards or colours; and all their artillery and baggage. The combined fleets of England and Holland, commanded by lord Torrington, were defeated in the same year, 1690, by count Tourville, commandant of the French fleet.

At the commencement of the ensuing campaign, while William III. of England presided at the Hague at a congress of the allies, Louis laid siege to Mons, which held out but a short time. The marechal de Luxembourg obtained another victory over the prince of Waldeck. In Italy the French were equally successful. They obtained possession of Villafranca, Nice, Veillana, and Carmagnola; but were obliged to raise the siege of Coni by prince Eugene.

The following year, 1692, was signalized by the defeat of the French fleet commanded by Tourville, by the combined fleets of England and Holland. The French lost three of their first rate ships of war, which were burned by the English admiral Delaval; and eighteen other ships were destroyed in the bay of La Hogue. Louis was so irritated by this defeat, that he set out at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, and invested Namur, which was fortified by a new work invented by Cohorn, to whom the defence of the place was confided. It surrendered; and the garrison was forced to seek shelter in the citadel.

While this event was passing, William III. of England attacked the French between Steenkerque and Engheim. At the onset, victory declared in his favour; but the marechal of Luxembourg rallied his troops, and gave an uncertain issue to the contest.

The ensuing campaign in Flanders was favourable to the French arms. The allies were attacked at three different points. At the commencement of the battle the French were repulsed; but the prince of Conti having brought up a fresh body of troops, they returned to the charge, and penetrated into the camp of the allies. While the victory was still uncertain, the marechal d'Harcourt came up with twenty squadrons of horse. The event of the battle was thus decided. The allies abandoned the field of battle, after a loss of eight thousand men, sixty pieces of ordnance, and a great number of colours. They were equally unfortunate in another battle, the loss of which enabled the marechal de Luxembourg to take possession of Charleroi, a place which had been strongly disputed. During this campaign, the palatinate was ravaged for the third time by the French. In Italy, the marechal de Catinat obtained a victory over the allies.

Amid these splendid victories, France was exposed to all the horrors of a famine. This consideration, added to the total stagnancy of commerce, induced Louis to make overtures of peace. He was desirous to purchase it at any price; but the English monarch would not listen to any terms of accommodation. The glory of his adversary, he was sensible, was on the decline. France had lost three of her best generals, Turenne, Condé,

and Crequi. The death of the marechal de Luxembourg followed at the commencement of 1695; and Catinat was the only military commander in whom Louis could place an entire confidence. William profited by these circumstances, and laid siege to Namur, before which the English troops performed prodigies of valour. The presence of their sovereign inspired them with a more than mortal courage; and Namur, which was considered as impregnable, was forced to capitulate. In Italy the French were equally unfortunate. The duke of Savoy laid siege to Casal, which surrendered to his arms. On the coast of Catalonia the vigilance of the English admiral, Russell, defeated all the plans of the duke of Vendome, who had succeeded the marechal de Noailles in his command in that province. The fortune of Louis was evidently on the decline: he lost ground in Flanders, and gained nothing on the territory bordering on the Rhine. Italy was the theatre of his intrigues and negociations; and in Catalonia the enterprises of his generals were unsuccessful. The coasts of Flanders were insulted by the combined fleets of England and Holland; and the French colonies in the West Indies were blockaded by the English men of war, which hovered with impunity on their coasts. Such being the state of France towards the close of the year 1693, the pride of Louis was humbled to such a degree, that he treated secretly with the states general, with Spain and with the duke of Savoy. His propositions were accepted, and a peace signed at Loretto, whither he had repaired on pretext of a pilgrimage. In 1697, the belligerent powers held a congress at Riswick; and on this occasion

Louis was disposed to agree to conditions very different from those he had dictated at the treaty of Nimeguen.

While the plenipotentiaries negociated with the tardiness which necessarily ensues where so many clashing interests are concerned, the French monarch collected all his forces, and marched them into Flanders and Catalonia, in the hope that new successes would procure him more advantageous conditions. During this interval, the marechal de Boufflers for France, and the duke of Portland for England, had five conferences in sight of their respective armies. However the other allies might be alarmed by these interviews, they signed the conditions proposed by the two commanders in chief. The emperor alone endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way; but signed the treaty in the month of October. Thus was terminated a war glorious to the French monarch, but disastrous to his kingdom.

On the death of Charles II. of Spain, in 1700, a contest ensued relative to the inheritance, to which there were two pretenders, the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin of France, and the archduke Charles of Austria, second son of the emperor. The former having, by the influence of pope Innocent XII., been declared successor to the throne of Spain, the emperor was so much irritated by this decision, that he made every effort to determine England and the United Provinces to declare their intentions. They entered into an alliance with him in favour of the archduke; and the treaty was signed at the Hague in the month of September of the above year.

Louis having been apprised of the march of

the Imperial troops, sent into Italy an army of which the duke of Savoy, one of his new allies, was declared generalissimo. Prince Eugene, the Imperial general, had anticipated, however, the arrival of the French, and having forced the post of Carpi, had taken possession of the whole of the territory between the Adige and the Adda. The French general, Catinat, was forced to retreat to the other side of the Oglio, and was so much discouraged that he sent in his resignation. He was succeeded by Villeroi, who was, shortly after his arrival in Italy, defeated at the battle of Chiari, with a loss of five thousand men. He was himself made prisoner at the subsequent battle of Cremona, which place, together with the cities on the banks of the Oglio, and the whole of the Mantuan territory, fell into the hands of prince Eugene.

On the death of William III. of England, the most decided and most formidable enemy of Louis XIV. queen Anne, his successor, resolved to follow implicitly the plan he had traced out. It was decided that war should be formally declared, on the same day, in London, in Vienna, and at the Hague. The administration of public affairs in France was confided to Chamillard, who had nothing to recommend him beside a rigid probity. Louis being now advanced in years, the military operations were all of them planned in the cabinet of Madame de Maintenon. The commands of the regiments were given to young officers; and the soldiery were without discipline. Such was the situation of France, when, the allies having declared war, the duke of Savoy threw off A. D. 1702.

the mask of friendship, and the king of Portugal declared in favour of the archduke Charles. The revolt of Naples, and of several of the Spanish provinces, which were dissatisfied with the government of the house of Bourbon, were fresh disasters heaped on France.

In the month of July the duke of Marlborough entered Flanders at the head of the allied forces. He was opposed by the duke of Burgundy and the marechal de Boufflers, the former of whom was so disheartened by his defeats, that he demanded his resignation. Liege and several other cities, which Boufflers could not defend, fell into the hands of the allies. By this campaign in Flanders, the reputation of the duke of Marlborough was completely established.

In Germany the allies made themselves masters of Keyserswaert. The French army in that quarter was commanded by Catinat, who had under him the marquis of Villars and count Guiscard. The marquis was detached, and attacked the prince of Baden at Fredelingen. After an obstinate contest, victory declared in his favour, and he was created marechal of France. The campaign terminated by the capture of a few insignificant places by the allies.

On the following year, 1703, Villars took the fort of Kell, and defeated the Imperialists near Passau. He obtained a second victory, which put him in possession of Neubourg; and afterwards defeated a large body of Imperialists commanded by count Stirum. At the same time, the duke of Burgundy, having under his command Tallard and Vauban, laid siege to old Brisach, which surrendered at the end of fourteen days.

To terminate the campaign, the elector of Bavaria, in alliance with France, made himself master of Augsbourg.

On the lower Rhine the Imperialists sustained several losses. At the approach, however, of the redoubtable Marlborough, Villeroi was reduced to the necessity of burning his camp at Saint-Iol, and of retreating precipitately within his lines. The allies afterwards took possession of Hui, Limbourg, and Gueldre.

In Italy, the territory of the duke of Modena fell into the hands of the French, who were not equally successful by sea. They were defeated in a naval engagement by the English, who took ten of their ships, and destroyed eight others.

The revolt of the Hungarians, in 1704, was an event highly favourable to France. If the revolters had acted in concert with the elector of Bavaria, Vienna must have fallen, and the emperor have been driven from his hereditary states. The elector was master of all the cities on the Danube to Passau; and thirty thousand French menaced, on the other side of that river, the Imperial capital. Under these circumstances the duke of Marlborough made the rapid march which has been so universally admired. He advanced with such celerity towards the centre of the empire, that he gained the battle of Schellenberg at a moment when Villeroi, who commanded the French, was utterly ignorant of the progress he had made. Having defeated the combined army of France and Bavaria, he seized on Donawert, and forced the elector to seek refuge in Augsbourg. Marechal Tallard having after-

wards traversed the black forest, and formed a junction with the unfortunate elector at Bi berach, crossed the Danube in the hope of de feating prince Eugene, who commanded a sepa rate army at Hochstet. The duke of Marl borough united his forces to those of prince Eugene; but the elector and Tallard, confiding in the superiority of numbers, resolved to hazard a battle. Their army was composed of eighty two battalions, and a hundred and sixty squa drons: while that of the allies consisted of sixty four battalions, and a hundred and fifty-two squa drons only. The French thrice repulsed the attack of the enemy. A part of the troops be longing to the centre of the right wing of the English and Imperialists, having been vigorously charged by the French cavalry, and galled in their flank by the fire of the infantry posted in the village of Blenheim, gave way. It was at this moment that the brave Tallard was wounded, and made prisoner. The conflict was continued with the utmost obstinacy on both sides, until at length the French infantry, having been thrown into disorder by the cavalry, was exposed to the impetuous attack of the enemy. The French were surrounded; and from that moment prince Eugene, who had succeeded in a fourth attack, drove them and the Bavarian troops before him. All the corps which were within Blenheim were made prisoners; and the consternation was so great in the French army, that many of the officers and soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, in which they perished to avoid the shame of being made prisoners. Such was the fate of the

greater part of thirty squadrons; while the field of battle was covered by twelve thousand dead. Thirteen thousand prisoners; a hundred pieces of artillery; twenty-two mortars; more than a hundred flags; nearly two hundred standards; and upwards of three thousand tents; together with the whole of the baggage, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the allies. This disaster threw the court of Versailles into the utmost consternation.

A war of religion was superadded to the calamities under which France had to groan. The protestant inhabitants of the Cevennes mountains, who had been protected during the administration of Colbert, were exposed to new persecutions. Having been deprived of their privileges, and denied the public exercise of the duties of their religion, they assembled in the forests, to adore God after their own manner. Their cruel persecutors, Basville, intendant of Languedoc, and Broglio, who commanded the troops in that province, posted the soldiery in several places, with orders to fire on all the small assemblies they should meet with in the act of performing divine service, and to plunder and destroy the houses of those whom they should make prisoners. The Cevennes were soon laid waste; but the zeal of the protestants augmented with the violence of their persecution. They surrounded the house of the abbé du Chaila, the inspector of the missions, and having liberated their brethren whom he held in captivity, put him to death. They at length became so formidable by their numbers and their bravery, that the most renowned generals of France were sent against them, but without being able to subdue their spirit. They

retired to the inaccessible parts of their mountains, where they braved all the forces sent against them. This warfare lasted for three years.

In the campaign of 1705, the marechal de Villars endeavoured to repair, as much as possible, the loss of the battle of Blenheim, and the mischiefs by which it had been followed. Having reached the banks of the Mozelle, he took possession of Treves, which the duke of Marlborough had abandoned, to proceed to Flanders. The prince of Baden, although at the head of a large army, was an idle spectator of this event. Villars having now united his forces to those of Marsin, drove the Imperialists from the lines of Weissembourg, and sent forward a detachment which took possession of Hambourg. He displayed great skill in his successful efforts to prevent the numerous armies of the emperor from attempting any important enterprise during the continuance of the campaign.

In Italy, the duke of Vendome, by a vigorous attack, forced prince Eugene to the indecisive battle of Cassano. The duke of Savoy was bereft of the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Coni and Turin. Notwithstanding his capital was menaced by a siege, he resolved to hold out until the last extremity.

Such was the state of the belligerent powers when the campaign of 1706 was opened. The earl of Peterborough, by a bold manœuvre, made himself master of Barcelona, and the capture of that important city was followed by the subjugation of the whole of the province of Catalonia. The troops of Spain were defeated by the English in the sanguinary conflict of St. Estevan de Litera.

The victories, in short, obtained by the allies in Spain determined Louis to assemble all his forces in Flanders and on the Rhine. Villars was ordered to follow up the successes he had obtained over the prince of Baden during the preceding campaign; and Villeroi was sent to check the terrible rapidity of the conquests of the duke of Marlborough. His army was attacked by the latter, near the village of Ramilies, with such an impetuosity, that the French were scarcely assailed when they were vanquished. However, the troops of the royal household, on the right, forced the Dutch and Danish cavalry to retreat towards the left, and would have completely routed them, had not the duke of Marlborough hastened to their succour. The troops of the royal household were driven back, and their ranks broken. The detachments stationed in the village were either put to the sword or made prisoners; and Villeroi, as well as the elector of Bavaria, escaped with great difficulty. In the tumultuous disorder of the French troops, the fugitives, who were pursued by the enemy's cavalry, were stopped by the baggage, which prevented their retreat. Great numbers of them were, by the means of this impediment, slain in their flight. The field of battle was covered by eight thousand slain; and six thousand were made prisoners. Thus did the most formidable army which Louis XIV. had raised for a considerable time, as the last effort of his despair, melt away with the glory of the nation, of which it was the sole resource. The allies seized on the whole of the Spanish Netherlands; and a consternation was spread throughout France. Louis alone supported these heavy calamities with an

heroical fortitude. He received the marechal de Villeroi without a reproach; and resolved to stem the torrent of the misfortunes which overwhelmed his kingdom by the most persevering activity.

Vendome was recalled from Italy, and sent into Flanders. The duke of Orleans and count Marsin were left in Italy, to act against the duke of Savoy. As he persisted in refusing all the offers of a separate peace, the French commanders made every preparation to attack his capital, Turin. The command of the siege was bestowed on the duke de la Feuillade, a young officer who displayed an ardent courage, but not the smallest knowledge of the military science. As soon as the lines of circumvallation and countervallation were completed, he sent a trumpet to offer a passport to the duchess of Savoy and her children. To this *gasconade* the duke of Savoy replied, that it was not his intention to allow his family to leave the place. An instant after, the fire from the batteries commenced; and the red hot balls were scattered on all sides in such an abundance, that the duke at length found it prudent to have his family escorted, amid the perils by which they were surrounded, to the Genoese territory. He himself made a sortie from the city, at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, to harass the besiegers. The siege was continued with an enormous expenditure of ammunition, but without the smallest probability of success. It lasted so long, that fourteen thousand French perished under the walls of the Piedmontese capital. As the garrison had likewise suffered considerable losses, and had nearly exhausted the whole of its ammunition, the arrival

of prince Eugene could alone save it from capitulation; and this event was scarcely to be expected. Vendome had, before his departure, fortified all the passages by which the prince could approach Turin, and had formed a chain of entrenchments on the banks of the Adige. Eugene, however, whose genius, fertile in resources, considered nothing to be impossible, passed four great rivers under the fire of the French batteries, and, by his daring intrepidity, removed all the obstacles calculated to prevent, or, at the least, to impede his march. He formed a junction with the duke of Savoy near Asti, and, by his unexpected arrival, threw the French troops into the greatest consternation. The duke de la Feuillade having been joined by the duke of Orleans, with a powerful reinforcement, a council was held at the encampment before Turin; and its decision was that the French commanders should remain within the lines, to wait the enemy's attack.

Prince Eugene advanced with eight columns, and proceeded towards the entrenchments, at a small distance from which he formed. His first attack having been vigorously repulsed, he put himself at the head of the battalions on the left, and forced the entrenchments. The duke of Savoy was equally successful in making his first charge to the right and in the centre. The lines were broken, and in the space of two hours the whole of the French army dispersed. The duke of Orleans was wounded; and marechal de Marsen made prisoner, together with seven thousand of the troops. Five thousand French were left dead in the field.

On the receipt of the intelligence of this great

disaster Louis's courage forsook him for the first time. He had the mortification to reflect that, on the side of Italy, his troops, heretofore considered as invincible, had, as well as those of Spain, been driven from the Mantuan territory, from the Milanese, from Piedmont, and from the kingdom of Naples. He could no longer inspire in his enemies any other sentiment than that of pity. His most flourishing armies had been swept away; his brilliant conquests on the side of the Danube were lost; and his troops driven out of the Flemish territory. Madame de Maintenon did every thing to encourage him, but without effect.

He employed the elector of Bavaria to write to the duke of Marlborough, and to the deputies of the United Provinces, to demand a congress, which might, at the least, suspend the calamities of war. He implored the pope to mediate with the emperor; and evacuated every part of Italy to save the wretched remains of the army of the duke of Orleans. England and Holland refused to listen to any terms of accommodation; and it was resolved that the war should be prosecuted with redoubled vigour.

Louis was not without his consolations at this juncture. In the campaign of 1707, the mareschal de Villars forced the lines of Stolhoffen, and, having dispersed the enemy's troops, penetrated to the Danube. Toulon, besieged by prince Eugene, and blockaded by an English fleet, was delivered; and in Spain, the affairs of the allies were deranged by the loss of the battle of Almanza. Encouraged by these fortunate events, Louis formed the bold project of the invasion of England, with the design of placing on the throne

of that kingdom the son of James II. An attempt having been made to form a party in England and in Scotland, a fleet of eight ships of the line, and seventy transports, was fitted out at Dunkirk; and six thousand men embarked. This fleet was commanded by the chevalier Forbin Janson. As there were at that time in Scotland only three thousand regular troops, great hopes of success were entertained. By the vigilance, however, of the British admiral, Byng, the troops were prevented from landing in that part of Great Britain, and the fleet returned to Dunkirk without having accomplished its purpose.

In the campaign of 1708, the French army in Flanders was confided to the duke of Burgundy, the presumptive heir of the crown. Incredible efforts were made to raise a body of troops worthy of this prince, who had under him the duke of Vendome. The elector of Bavaria, and M. de Berwick, were appointed to command on the Rhine; and marechal Villars, in Dauphiné. The amount of the French force in Flanders was a hundred thousand men, and that of the allies eighty thousand only. It was, notwithstanding, deemed essential by the French cabinet to have recourse to stratagem, to obtain what it might have been impracticable to atchieve by force. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges being in open hostilities with the Dutch garrisons, and a part of the latter having been gained over by the intrigues of the duke of Bavaria, these two places became an easy conquest to the French. The redoubtable duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene, hastened by rapid strides to-

wards the scene of action, and disconcerted all the plans of the French military council. Having determined to attack the duke of Burgundy in his camp near Oudenarde, they made every preparation to cross the Scheldt, a passage which they accomplished with a surprising celerity. The duke of Burgundy resolved to give them battle; and one of his generals, Grimaldi, received orders to commence the charge with the troops of the royal household. Having found a morass and a rivulet in his way, he refused to advance, and retreated to the right. The allies, with an incredible impetuosity, attacked the village of Heynem, in which eleven battalions of French were posted; and took possession of the place. The main body of the French army supported, with great firmness, the first shock of the enemy's infantry. The combat had been continued for an hour, without the victory declaring on either side, when the prince of Orange came up with the Dutch infantry, and, by a rapid movement, attacked the French in flank. Count Tilly, and general Anverquerck, had already made a considerable impression on the right wing. The French troops were thrown into such disorder, that all the efforts of the duke of Vendome, who galloped through their ranks, were not sufficient to rally them. They were driven back by the allies with such an impetuosity, that a general confusion ensued. Several of the regiments were cut in pieces; and several others laid down their arms. Night came on to save the greater part of the French army, and afforded the duke of Vendome an opportunity of retreating towards Ghent. By the means of a rear guard of twenty

battalions which he had formed, he prevented his army from being harassed by the enemy's detachments sent off in the morning at day break. In the above action of Oudenarde, the French had three thousand men killed, and seven thousand made prisoners.

The allies, taking advantage of their victory, laid siege to Lille, the strongest fortified city in the Netherlands, containing twenty-one battalions of the best troops of France. Their communication with Antwerp was cut off by the duke of Vendome; but they drew their supplies from Ostend, and vanquished every difficulty which lay in their way. Their intrepid perseverance obliged the governor, marechal Bouffhers, to capitulate, after having held out for nearly four months in the citadel. The city itself was surrendered at the termination of two months. During this siege the English were distinguished by a very heroical action. Fifteen thousand French having been sent to intercept a convoy of provisions from Ostend, the English general, Webb, with six thousand infantry, defeated them with the loss of three thousand men. The capture of Lille was followed by the fall of Ghent, Bruges, Plassendaal, Lessinghen, and several other places. In short, the route to Paris was open to the emperor, had he chosen to penetrate into France. A party of Dutch had the audacity to proceed from Courtray to Versailles, from whence they carried off in triumph one of the king's equerries, whom they mistook for the dauphin, the father of the duke of Burgundy.

Louis was equally unfortunate in Dauphiné, where the duke of Savoy wrested from him the forts

of Perousse, Fenestrelles, and St. Martin. In the Mediterranean, the English fleet commanded by admiral Leake made the important capture of the islands of Sardinia and Minorca. These miscarriages led the French monarch, in 1709, to try the effect of negociations. As Holland was alone capable of bringing about a general peace, the most humiliating propositions were made to the grand pensionary, Heinsius, who at length consented to treat. The preliminaries were, however, so unfavourable to France, that Louis rejected them, and ordered marechal Villars to open the campaign with every possible vigour and alacrity. This celebrated campaign was to decide the fate of France and Spain, seeing that a defeat could not fail to be followed by the most disastrous consequences.

The allies having made themselves masters of Tournay, crossed the Scheldt to invest Mons. Villars advanced to prevent them from effecting their object, and posted himself advantageously behind the woods of Blangies and Tanieres, near Malplaquet. He defended his encampment, which was strongly fortified, by a triple entrenchment. He had been joined by the marechal de Boufflers; and his army consisted of a hundred thousand men. In this strong position he was attacked by the allies. The Dutch, posted to the left, were thrice repulsed, and thrice led on by the prince of Orange with the utmost gallantry. The English were more successful to the right. After a most obstinate conflict, the French were driven from their entrenchments, and forced to seek shelter in the woods of Sars and Tanieres. Villars, in leading on the troops from the *left to*

the centre, was wounded; and this fatal circumstance decided the victory in favour of the allies. The French troops made so orderly a retreat towards Valenciennes, under the marechal de Boufflers, that the allies abandoned their pursuit. The latter undertook the siege of Mons, which having surrendered in the month of October, the armies went into their winter quarters.

The conferences which ensued in the spring of 1710 took place at Gertruidenberg, but did not lead to the expected accommodation. Accordingly, the marechal de Villars collected a new army, and proceeded to the succour of Douai, which, however, as well as several other places, fell into the hands of the allies. These were the only noticeable events which occurred during the campaign in Flanders. In Spain the operations were more important, and attracted the notice of all Europe. The Spanish monarch having lost the battle of Saragossa, was forced to retreat, first to Madrid, and afterwards to Valladolid. The duke of Vendome hastened to his protection, and by his aid the rapid progress of the imperial general Staremberg was checked. Scarcely three months had elapsed after the battle of Saragossa, when the French general forced the Imperialists to retreat towards Portugal, and having crossed the Tagus in their pursuit, surprised the town of Brighnega, in which he made general Stanhope, and two thousand English under his command, prisoners. On the following day count Staremberg's army was attacked at Villa-Viciosa. Philip V. commanded the right wing of the Spanish troops; and Vendome the left. Although the

day was not absolutely won by Philip, his enemy found it prudent to retreat to Barcelona.

The negociations for peace were renewed, but with as little effect as before. In the month of February 1711, the duke of Marlborough was sent to the Hague, to prepare for the opening of another campaign, on which the death of the emperor Joseph I. had not the influence which might have been presumed. Louis, on his side, made such extraordinary efforts, that the army he appointed to act in Flanders, under the marechal de Villars, was still more powerful than any of the preceding ones. This army was encamped behind the Sanzer, in so advantageous a position, that there was little apprehension of an attack. The lines extended from Bouchain on the Scheldt, along the Sanzer and the Scarpe, to Arras, and from thence to Canche; and were fortified by redoubts which rendered them in a manner impregnable. The resources of the French general were, however, weakened by the necessity he was under of sending reinforcements to the elector of Bavaria on the Rhine. The contending armies remained in their respective encampments from the 15th of June to the 12th of July, being merely separated by the Scarpe. The French army formed a kind of circle, which extended from Arras, with its right at Monchi-Pren, and its left at Duisan. That of the allies was encamped in the vicinity of Lens, with its right at Lievin, and its left at Henin-Lietard. The advantageous position which the marechal de Villars had taken up gave no little uneasiness to the allies, more particularly as a dyke had been constructed near

Arleux, which not only prevented the working of the mills of Douay, but intercepted the navigation of the Scarpe below that river. The allies having made two unsuccessful attempts to obtain possession of a small fortress and a redoubt which commanded the dyke, returned a third time to the charge with eight thousand men, and carried these two posts after a vigorous resistance. Being desirous to fortify them, the duke of Marlborough encamped twelve squadrons of horse, and ten battalions of infantry, to cover the workmen. To dislodge this body of troops, the marechal de Villars detached count Gassion, who had the address to reach the allies undiscovered. Having ranged his cavalry in four lines, he ordered the first of them to attack the enemy's camp, which was done with so much impetuosity, that the detachment of the allies was forced to retreat to the vincinity of Douay. This enterprise was ineffectual. The duke of Marlborough, by a feint which displayed his profound military talents, having approached the French army within less than two leagues, prepared a great number of fascines, as if he meditated an attack. Villars assembled his forces in that quarter, in expectation of a combat; but learned with surprise that generals Cadogan and Hompesch had crossed the Sanzer at Vitri, and that the duke of Marlborough himself was near Arleux. He decamped with his whole army at day break, and putting himself at the head of the troops of the royal household, made such haste that at noon he found himself within sight of Marlborough, who had just formed a junction with count Hompesch. This unforeseen accident obliged the marechal to

retreat towards Cambray; and the allies crossed the lines of the French army. The French historians themselves confess that this was a disgraceful retreat.

The duke of Marlborough laid siege to Bouchain, and conducted the operations with so much ability, that, notwithstanding it was strongly fortified both by nature and art, the trenches had only been opened twenty days, when the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, was forced to surrender. The contending armies now separated; but before they went into winter quarters, Villars intercepted the communication by water with Lille, Douay, and Tournay.

The operations by sea were chiefly confined to the two Americas. An English fleet, commanded by admiral Walker, failed in an expedition against Quebec; and the celebrated French naval commander, Dugué-Trouin, in his enterprise against Rio-Janiero and Bresil, deceived the expectation of the public by a successful issue which was not naturally to be expected. He commanded a squadron of seven ships of the line, six frigates, and a bomb vessel, with two thousand five hundred troops for landing. With this force he captured the city of Rio-Janiero, defended by thirteen thousand Portuguese.

The dauphin, the eldest son of Louis XIV., died in his fiftieth year, universally lamented. He left behind him the character of a good son, a good husband, a good father, and a virtuous prince. The title of dauphin fell to the lot of the duke of Burgundy, who died at the commencement of the following year, 1712, honoured by the eulogies and regrets of the nation. After his

death his new title descended to the duke of Britany, his eldest son, who being deceased at the age of five years, left the quality of dauphin and presumptive heir of the crown, to the duke of Anjou, aged only two years. Louis XIV. sustained a new loss by the death of the marechal de Boufflers, who had rendered important services to his country during a space of forty years. The young duke of Boufflers, his son, succeeded him in the government of Flanders and Hainault.

During the operations of the campaign we have just given, secret negociations had been constantly on foot between the ministers of England and France, by the medium of abbé Gauthier, a shrewd political character. He returned to France with Prior, the celebrated poet, who had been secretary to the earls of Portland and Jersey, ambassadors at the court of Versailles. The instructions given to Prior were of a limited nature, seeing that he was merely authorised to communicate the demands of England, to receive the reply of the king, and more particularly to observe whether the king of Spain had delegated to his grandfather, Louis, full powers to act in his name.

The English poet and negociator having reached Fontainebleau *incognito*, communicated the propositions of the English ministry, and required a categorical reply before he should proceed to treat. The demands of queen Anne were as follows: a barrier for Holland, in the Netherlands; another for the emperor, on the Rhine; the restitution of whatever had been taken from the duke of Savoy; and the entire cession of the cities mentioned in her treaties with the allies. She required likewise

that her title should be acknowledged, as well as the succession to the crown in the protestant line of the house of Hanover; that Dunkirk should be demolished; that Port Mahon and Gibraltar should remain in the hands of the English; that she should have the exclusive enjoyment of the traffic of negroes; that England should enjoy all the advantages of a free commerce with Spain; that Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay should be ceded to her; that she should have a footing in South America; that the commerce of Holland should be secured; and, finally, that the crowns of France and Spain should never again be united. The death of the emperor had entirely changed the political system of Great Britain, which, ceasing to have the same interests, was not desirous to make a third attempt to dethrone Philip, at the expense of her men and treasures, perhaps even of her glory. It was agreed that the secret should be inviolably kept, until both the parties should consent to its disclosure.

It was impossible that Louis XIV. could assent to these hard conditions, without giving to the commerce of England the greatest advantages, to the detriment of that of France, and, indeed of all Europe. The negociation was accordingly at a stand; but as it was the policy of Louis, in this cruel alternative, to gain time, he came to a resolution to treat in London, and to invest his negociator with powers which might overcome many of the difficulties that lay in the way. M. Menager, deputy of the city of Rouen to the counsel of commerce, was chosen by Louis for this very delicate and important mission. He proceeded to England, accompanied by the British envoy, with

full powers to regulate the preliminaries of a treaty. As the cession of Newfoundland, and of Hudson's Bay, was calculated to destroy both the commerce and the navy of France, he was not to cede the latter on any conditions, but to give up the former of these possessions under certain restrictions, provided it would tend to re-establish the peace.

On his arrival in London, the French plenipotentiary held a conference with the British ministers; and, after the usual discussions, succeeded in obtaining the signature of a few of the preliminaries. He was afterwards presented to the queen at Windsor, and met with a very flattering reception. There was, however, one difficulty to be overcome: Louis XIV. had not as yet acknowledged Anne in her quality of queen of Great Britain. This obstacle, however, which would have been of serious import at any other time, was considered as very trivial at a conjuncture when a treaty was to be concluded so necessary to France, and so desirable to England. The queen requested Menager to be the bearer of her compliments to his sovereign, and to assure him that she would make every effort to accelerate the negociation. Under this favourable impression the French minister returned to France. About the same time marechal Tallard was released, and obtained permission to return to his native country on his parole. It was considered that he had contributed essentially to the first overtures of peace.

The British ambassador at the Hague received orders to communicate to the grand pensionary of Holland, the preliminaries signed between Great Britain and France, and to fix the spot where the

plenipotentiaries were to assemble. He was desired to state that his queen had not granted any condition which could be injurious to the states general. She trusted that what she had done would meet their approbation, which was of the utmost importance, as a refusal on their part would again plunge Europe in all the horrors of war. To this he was commanded to add that his sovereign was fully bent on concluding a peace.

The preliminaries were likewise communicated to count Galas, the Imperial ambassador *resident* in London. He was so much enraged at their import, that, with a view to kindle up an insurrection among the people, he caused them to be translated into English, and inserted in the public prints. By this scandalous conduct he had like to *have* overturned the glorious edifice of peace. It was resented with so much spirit, that he was not allowed to appear at court. The secrecy with which the negociation had been managed alarmed the Dutch, who sent M. Buys to London, in quality *of* envoy extraordinary, to prevail on queen Anne to depart from the resolution she had taken. He had instructions either to annul the negociation, or, at the least, to promote a continuance of the war, to the ruin of the new ministry.

In reply to his intrigues and remonstrances, the queen declared that she should consider any delay on the part of the United Provinces, as a refusal of her propositions. Buys formed a concert with the whigs, to prevent, or, if that was not practicable, to retard the treaty, and thus overturn the new tory administration. He entered into a close alliance with Bothmer, the Hanoverian envoy, and took a decided part in the intrigues, the

aim of which was, in the first instance, to call the duke of Hanover to England, and afterwards to invite thither prince Eugene. The invincible firmness of the queen, and the failure of the cabals formed against her ministers, at length alarmed the states of Holland, and forced them to consent that the congress should be opened at Utrecht on the 12th of January 1712.

While the preparations were making for the opening of the congress, Louis XIV. considered that he had not to dread either the exorbitant demands of the emperor, or the vain pretensions of the states general. His close connection with Great Britain, and the good understanding between him and queen Anne, convinced him that, in the progress of time, the allies would be forced to subscribe to the conditions which the English ministry might deem equitable. The war had been particularly oppressive to England. Portugal, Holland, and the princes of Germany had not furnished their contingents, which were still in arrears. They could not but be sensible of their insufficiency to continue the war, without money, without troops, and more particularly without the genius of the great Marlborough. However, although the opening of the congress had been fixed for the 18th, it did not take place until the 29th of January.

The plenipotentiaries being assembled, the Dutch conducted themselves as if they had been forced to take a part in a negociation which was displeasing to them. War appeared to be the ruling passion of this nation, which had, on former occasions, preferred its commerce to its glory, and its seamen to its soldiers. It became necessary

that the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain should assume an imperative tone in the conferences. Instructions were forwarded to them by the medium of Mr. Harley, to declare, that the demands they had to make were of such importance to the welfare of all the belligerent powers, that it was expedient either to grant them, or to terminate the negociation. The object of one of these demands was a security to be given by the courts of Versailles and Madrid, that the two crowns should never be united. The English ministers were surprised when they found that the French ambassadors had not any power to discuss this article. Louis XIV. had written to the Secretary, St. Jean, to say that the renunciation which was required would strike at the fundamental laws of the kingdom; but that he had consulted his grandson, Philip, on this very interesting object. The abbé Gauthier now informed the ministers assembled at the congress, that the reply of Philip had not been received, notwithstanding the alternative of continuing the war under all the disadvantageous circumstances, or of renouncing the throne of France, had been submitted to his serious consideration. The negociations were suspended until the arrival of his answer, inasmuch as the allies considered the renunciation to be a very essential point, to prevent the aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon. As Philip still thought proper to preserve an utter silence, Louis proposed that the regulation for the succession of Spain, approved and promulgated in the assembly of the *Cortes* or states of Castille and Arragon, should be received by the allies, as a sufficient security against the union of the two crowns.

This proposition having been rejected, and the congress being on the eve of breaking up, Louis, to avoid a rupture, proposed, in a letter to the English ministers, another alternative, namely, that on a supposition the king of Spain should refuse to renounce to the rights of his birth, and to his pretensions to the crown of France, the most christian king would concert, with the queen of England, the necessary means to bring Philip to such a decision as would lead to the conclusion of a peace which was now so much advanced.

Queen Anne, in reply, assured Louis XIV. that she should be delighted with a peace in the equity of which he should himself agree; and being desirous to afford every satisfaction to the king of Spain which her own interests would allow, she left it to his choice, either to renounce his birthright, and to preserve the monarchy of Spain with his Indian possessions, or to surrender them to secure his right to the crown of France, and to receive, in exchange for Spain and the Indies, the kingdom of Sicily, of which he held the immediate possession, and the kingdom of Naples, together with the duchies of Savoy, Montferrat, and Mantua; and that, in the case he should himself, or any one of his descendants, succeed to the crown of France, these states should be annexed to that kingdom, with the reserve of Sicily, which should be ceded to the house of Austria. According to this project, the duke of Savoy was to make an advantageous exchange of his states for Spain and the Indies.

The congress, the operations of which were suspended, waited the definitive resolution of the

king of Spain, who at length deemed it prudent to renounce all his pretensions to the crown of France, rather than abandon the throne of Spain, on which he had been seated amid the greatest obstacles, from which he had been afterwards precipitated, and which Vendome had finally restored to him, in 1710, by the victory of Villa Viciosa. When the French ministers made this communication to the congress, they were instructed by their sovereign to observe to the refractory Hollanders, whom no terms could satisfy, that he could not, any more than the English, allow himself to be amused by the proposition of a suspension of arms.

In the interim the season for opening the campaign was arrived. Villars commanded in Flanders an army which Louis XIV. had been constrained to put on as good a footing as the wretched condition of his kingdom would allow. An essential point on which he reckoned was a change of measures, and more particularly of the general. The duke of Marlborough, who had been so long the terror of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, was succeeded by the duke of Ormond. Before, however, the latter took the command of the English forces, the earl of Albemarle, the commander of the Batavian army, had bombarded Arras, and having set fire to one of the suburbs, had retired. The duke of Ormond joined prince Eugene at Tournay, but with express orders neither to risk a battle, nor to act offensively. Villars, who was apprised of these orders, having relaxed in his usual vigilance, afforded an opportunity to prince Eugene to lay siege to Quesnoy. The trenches having been

opened, the siege was covered by the duke of Ormond; but a suspension of arms, signed between the queen of England and Louis XIV., imposed on him the necessity of a new operation. He had to separate from the army of the allies, both the English troops and the foreign mercenaries in the pay of Great Britain.

Prince Eugene continued the siege of Quesnoy with so much vigour, that it surrendered after a short siege of three weeks. He afterwards detached general Grovesteins, who entered France at the head of fifteen hundred horse. Having penetrated into Champagne, he crossed the Meuse, the Mozelle, and the Sarre, retreating afterwards to Traesbach, with a very rich booty, and a great number of hostages. He had the audacity to levy heavy contributions under the very fortifications of Metz. This bold enterprize was productive of the utmost consternation both at Paris and Versailles. It had no sooner reached the ears of Villars, than, by way of retaliation, he detached a party which advanced to the other side of Bergen-op-zoom, and having penetrated into the island of Tholen, laid it waste. As soon as the suspension of arms between England and France had been published, the city and forts of Dunkirk were delivered up to fresh English troops. The vessels and gallies belonging to Louis XIV. remained in the port; the intendant and magistrates continued to exercise their functions; but the garrison retreated to Bergue-St. Winox.

Prince Eugene laid siege to Landrecy, but was forced, by the inferiority of the numbers of the Imperial troops, to abandon his enterprise. The

earl of Albemarle was encamped, with seventeen battalions, and fourteen squadrons, to cover the lines. He was separated by the Scheldt from the right wing of the army of prince Eugene, who had extended his lines from the Scheldt to the Scarpe, to secure his convoys of supplies from the attacks of the garrisons of Cambray and Valenciennes, and to cover his magazines at Marchiennes. Villars conceived the plan of seizing on these magazines, and of forcing the encampment of Denain. He advanced as far as Chatillon as if with a view to attack the allies before Landrecy; and the more readily to impose on the enemy, threw bridges across the river. Prince Eugene, whom it was not easy to deceive, being persuaded that he was about to be attacked, had an intrenchment thrown up before his right wing, and having posted there general Fagel, with forty battalions, retired with his right towards Landrecy. By this operation he found himself at the distance of three leagues from Denain. Villars, perceiving that his stratagem had been successful, hastened to the execution of his project. In the evening he sent orders to count Broglio to advance with forty squadrons along the bank of the Selle, and to guard all the posts of that small river with so much circumspection as to prevent the allies from being informed of the march of the army. This attempt, which had been skilfully contrived, was conducted with prudence, and attended by all possible success.

Broglio attacked and forced the lines between Neufville and Denain, before prince Eugene had time to throw in any succours. After having

seized on five hundred waggons laden with bread, placed in the rear of the lines, and captured the guard, which consisted of five hundred cavalry and as many infantry, Villars led his infantry against the entrenchment of Denain, defended by seventeen battalions. The allies made the most courageous resistance; but the marechal attacked them with so much impetuosity, that after a severe conflict, the French became masters of the encampment, and refusing to give any quarter, made a most dreadful carnage. A portion of the enemy having made good their retreat into the village, were so vigorously assailed, that in their attempt to escape they were drowned in the Scheldt. Of the seventeen battalions only four hundred men escaped. Towards the close of the combat, prince Eugene came up with fresh troops, and presented himself in front of the bridge of Prouvi, defended by Albergoti. Notwithstanding he made a very impetuous attack, he was so warmly received, that he was forced to retire with the loss of four battalions. The loss of the French was very inconsiderable. The unexpected victory they had obtained inspired them with a new ardour, and at the same time convinced the allies how very insufficient their forces were, now that the English had withdrawn from them their protection.

Marchiennes surrendered to the French, after having made a most vigorous resistance. Villars found in it a hundred pieces of artillery, three hundred waggons, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions. So considerable a loss deranged the allies in the execution of their plans; and the Dutch, who perceived that their

vanity was no longer to be indulged, and that they had ceased to be, what they had pompously called themselves, the arbiters of Europe, began to look seriously forward towards a peace. Villars invested Douay, and the fort de Scarpe. The latter was carried on the twelfth day after the trenches had been opened, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The sluices were now opened to inundate the plains, and the approaches made to the city. The garrison, consisting of upwards of three thousand men, surrendered at the expiration of thirteen days, on the same conditions which the allies had granted to the garrison of Quesnoy. On the day of the surrender of Douay, the marquis of Saint Fremont invested the place above mentioned. On the following day Villars arrived, and covered the siege with his army, which the victory of Denain, notwithstanding the losses he had sustained, seemed to have fortified. He posted his troops so advantageously, that prince Eugene did not attempt to succour the place. The consequence was that the besieged made a gallant but unsuccessful defence. They surrendered on the 4th of October, to the amount of four thousand men; and then it was that the marechal atchieved the most important, and, perhaps, the most brilliant of his conquests. Prince Eugene, when he raised the siege of Landrecy, had deposited in Quesnoy all his artillery, of which Villars took possession. It consisted of sixteen pieces of ordnance of a large caliber, of a great number of others of a smaller caliber, of fourteen mortars, four or five hundred thousand pounds weight of gunpowder, grenades, military implements, and provisions of every description.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, Villars, whose ambition was not so much to conquer, as to die gloriously at the head of his troops, considered that the reduction of Bouchain would be a glorious trophy to add to those of his successful campaign. The allies had considerably augmented the fortifications, and the garrison consisted of four battalions. Nothing could, however, resist the daring activity of Villars, who soon made himself master of that important place. The sole consolation which was afforded to the allies, was the capture of the fort of Kenoque, in which there were only a hundred and fifty French. It was surprised by a detachment from Ostend.

At the above epoch nothing remarkable occurred in Germany; but in Italy the Imperialists met with some success. They forced the garrison of St. Philip to surrender at discretion, after a strenuous resistance of nearly two months. The city of Porto-Ecole surrendered about the same time. In Spain, the archduke's party kept on the defensive; and Philip neglected the opportunity of taking advantage of his superiority.

Louis XIV., who was fully bent on the conclusion of the peace, resolved, by the most vigorous efforts in Flanders, to oblige the emperor and the United Provinces to accede to the tranquillity of Europe, by their acceptance of the propositions held out to them at the conferences at Utrecht. Now that he had concluded an armistice with Great Britain, he directed his attention to his marine, and planned an expedition against St. Jago. A squadron having been fitted out at Toulon, proceeded to its destination, and

landed a detachment of a thousand men in front of the city of Jago, the governor of which was so terrified, that he surrendered the place, although very difficult of access, and notwithstanding there were from ten to twelve thousand men on the island capable of carrying arms. As he afterwards fled into the interior, accompanied by the principal inhabitants, to avoid the payment of a ransom of sixty thousand dollars for the city and forts, the latter were blown up by the commander of the expedition, and the greater part of the city burned. The Dutch colonies of Surinam and Berbice were afterwards successfully besieged, and made to pay very heavy contributions.

The differences which had arisen between England and France, relatively to commerce, and to the limits to be assigned to each of the powers in America, having been amicably settled, the two courts were ready to sign the definitive treaty. A communication to this effect was made to the ministers of the allies. The Imperial plenipotentiary endeavoured, but ineffectually, to throw obstacles in the way. Louis consented to allow time to the emperor to examine the propositions made by France; but spurned at every idea of a suspension of arms.

The states general perceiving from the events of the last campaign that a continuance of the war would afford them but a feeble chance of success, addressed themselves to the ministers of Great Britain, to engage those of France to resume the conferences which had been so long interrupted. They were again taken up, and France demanded Lille as an equivalent for the

demolition of Dunkirk. Condé, Maubeuge, and Tournay, were excepted from the barrier which Holland required. The interests of the duke of Bavaria, the faithful ally of France, were not forgotten. The article which referred to the restitution of Tournay, gave rise to so many difficulties, as well on the part of the British as of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, that Louis was at length forced to yield.

On the 29th of January, 1713, the ambassadors concluded the treaty which fixed the barrier for the states general, and the one by which the French monarch acknowledged the succession of the crown of England in the protestant line. A short time after, a convention was signed for the neutrality of Italy, and for the evacuation both of Catalonia and of the islands of Minorca and Iviea. It now appeared that there were no further obstacles to subdue; but the emperor, and several of the princes of the empire, persisted in their refusal to accede to the proposed plan of a general peace. With respect to the treaties with Spain, and the other courts by which this plan was accepted, as the discussion with Germany might be protracted to a great length, it was resolved to conclude a peace between England, France, the United Provinces, Savoy, and the other allies. The treaties with the ambassadors of Great Britain, Savoy, Portugal, and the states general, were signed on the 11th of April, 1713. The treaty of commerce between England and France had been ratified two days before by queen Anne and her parliament.

By the treaty with Great Britain, besides the recognition of the protestant succession, Louis

consented to the demolition of the forts and harbour of Dunkirk, and ceded in North America Hudson's bay and the Acadian peninsula. Spain ceded to Great Britain Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, granting besides very advantageous conditions of commerce. Among the articles which were the most honourable to queen Anne, was the one by which Louis consented to liberate such of his subjects as had been imprisoned on account of their religious opinions.

By the treaty with Portugal, the navigation of the river of the Amazons was, as well as the territory situated on its banks, to belong, in full sovereignty to his Portuguese majesty. The city of Guelders was abandoned to the king of Prussia, together with a part of the upper district of Spanish Guelderland, the territory of Kessel, and the bailiwick of Kreekenbeck. In return, the king of Prussia renounced in perpetuity to all his claims to the principality of Orange and its dependencies. The cession of the kingdom of Sicily was confirmed to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king.

Spain and the empire having refused to conclude the peace which was so ardently desired, marechal Villars was again opposed to prince Eugene. The latter had his encampment near Philipsbourg on the right bank of the Rhine; but Villars, by a forced and secret march, proceeded along the left bank of that river, extending his troops along the road leading from Philipsburgh to Spire, so as to deprive Landau, the object of his meditated attack, of every prospect of succour.

The above city was invested on the 12th of June, and the trenches opened twelve days after, under the command of the marechal de Bezons.

Villars at the same time attacked and carried the city and fort of Kictersternteren. After a very obstinate defence, which cost the besiegers three thousand men, Landau surrendered. The attack of the strong city of Fribourg was next planned by Villars; but before he could carry his scheme into execution it was necessary to force the Imperial lines, which extended from Hornebourg to the advanced works of the above place. In this attempt he made three attacks, which were gallantly repelled by the Imperialists. On a fourth attack, however, they were so vigorously assailed by the French, that they gave way, and betook themselves to flight.

This victory enabled Villars to undertake the siege of Fribourg, the capital of anterior Austria. It was immediately invested; and never was a place attacked and defended with so vehement a perseverance. The trenches were opened on the 30th of September. Notwithstanding the terrible fire of the batteries, the besieged made frequent and vigorous sorties. The place was not surrendered until the 1st of November, when, every preparation having been made for the assault, baron d'Arsch, the commandant, who had retired into the citadel, informed Villars that he abandoned to him the city, with two thousand wounded and sick. Having taken possession of the place, the marechal laid so vigorous a siege to the citadel, that it surrendered at the end of a fortnight.

The war having been terminated by the reduction of the important city of Fribourg, it will be proper to say a few words of the treaty which was concluded between prince Eugene and mare-

chal Villars at Rastadt. It was, perhaps, the first occasion when two generals, opposed to each other at the breaking up of a campaign, treated in the names of their respective sovereigns. The emperor was forced to accept of conditions far less advantageous than those he had imprudently rejected at the treaty of Utrecht. Louis consented to restore to the emperor the fort of Kiel, Fribourg with all its forts and dependencies, and old Brisach with its dependencies on the right bank of the Rhine; but those on the left bank of the river were, together with fort Mortier, to remain in his possession. All the fortresses both above and below Huninguen were to be razed, with the exception of fort Louis, which was to be taken possession of by France, as well as Landau and its dependencies. The electors of Cologn and Bavaria were to be re-established by the emperor, in all their rights, dignities, and prerogatives. These conditions, together with several others of less moment, were ratified by a treaty concluded on the frontier of Swisserland.

Scarcely had Louis XIV. enjoyed the blessing of peace, when he had to lament the loss of the duke of Berry, who died at Marly in May 1714. By his death the duke of Orleans became the presumptive heir of the crown, after the young dauphin. On the 12th of August of the above year died queen Anne of England; and it is somewhat singular that on the same day of the same month of the following year, 1715, Louis XIV. fell dangerously sick. He died on the 1st day of the month of September, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years, and in the seventy-second year of his reign.

This celebrated monarch was reckoned the handsomest man in his dominions, and excelled in all the polite accomplishments. He was magnificent in every thing, more especially in the encouragement he gave to the arts and sciences. He had an inordinate passion for women; and if the queen, his mother, had not taken all possible means to prevent it, would have married his first mistress, mademoiselle de Mancini, niece to cardinal Mazarin. His second mistress was mademoiselle de la Valiere, by whom he had two children, mademoiselle de Bloise, and count Vermandois. She was succeeded by the marchioness de Montespan, who entertained a great affection for the king, but a still greater for wealth, which she amassed with the utmost rapacity. In her will, she ordered that her bowels should be conveyed to the convent of St. Joseph. One of the courtiers, on hearing this, enquired *whether she ever had any?* Her successor in the caresses of Louis was the duchess of Fontanges, whose character was made up of pride, caprice, and prodigality. She spent three hundred thousand livres, between twelve and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, per month.

Louis next formed an attachment for madame de Maintenon, whom he espoused in his advanced age. This illustrious female had been wedded to Scaron the buffoon, and was a widow when she made her appearance at the court of Versailles, where she acted a most conspicuous part. The celebrated establishment of Saint Cyr was founded by her. After the death of Louis, she was constantly surrounded in her apartment by the young ladies belonging to that establish-

ment, whom she instructed in the elementary principles of religion, in reading, writing, and needle-work, with a patience and serenity which were truly demonstrative of her character. She died in 1719 at the age of eighty-four years, universally lamented, and more particularly at the convent of Saint-Cyr, where she had acted like a tender mother. The poor lost in her their best benefactress. Her letters, which were published after her death, display a mixture of religion and gallantry, of dignity and weakness, frequently to be found in the human heart, and which was sometimes perceptible in that of Louis XIV. That monarch, who had had so many children by his mistresses, had not any by madame de Maintenon.

In his reign the French Academy of Sciences was established. The minister Colbert, the zealous patron of learning, prevailed on the celebrated astronomer Cassini, to quit Italy, and to place himself under the protection of the king of France, who bestowed on him, and also on Huyghens, a Dutch mathematician of equal celebrity, a very large pension. The French Academy of Painting was likewise founded by Colbert, who, with a view to the encouragement of the national industry, ordered the beautiful canal of Languedoc to be cut. His skill in the finances has acquired him an immortal reputation.

Louis XV. was only five years of age on the demise of the above monarch, and was in a very precarious state of health. The duke of Orleans was declared regent, not by the states convened in a lawful assembly, but by the parliament, which he had gained over to his side by a pro-

mise to grant the permission to make *wise remonstrances*. This privilege had been abolished by Louis XIV. at the commencement of his reign.

The first act of the regency was an edict which liberated a great number of persons who had been thrown into prison, and whose crime, or rather folly, was their persistence in not accepting the bull *Unigenitus*, which had been so long the scourge of the French nation, and the object of the ridicule of all other enlightened countries. Among these victims, it will be sufficient to name the marquis d'Aremberg, who, at the age of seventy years, was released from the Bastile, in which he had been confined for twelve years, in consequence of having, through humanity, contributed to the escape of friar Quesnel, imprisoned in the palace of the archbishop of Malines. The jesuits were, at the above time, in the enjoyment of a power, which, since the dissolution of that order, can with difficulty be comprehended. They felt how much their authority would be lessened by the edict in question; but the different means they employed served merely to confirm the regent in the resolution he had taken, to strengthen the hands of the government by every possible expedient, and at the same time to extinguish the ardour of fanaticism which they were so desirous to enflame.

A contestation ensued between the dukes and peers of the kingdom, and the parliament of Paris. On the day after the death of Louis XIV. the parliament had come to a resolution, that if any one of the dukes or peers should, in giving his suffrage, refuse to be uncovered, his vote

should be passed over by the first president. In this way the conclusion of the most important affairs, examined by the first senate of the nation, was to depend on the law which should decide, whether the dukes and peers of the realm, in the sittings of parliament, should carry the hat in the hand or on the head. After several fruitless discussions, it was agreed that the decision should be reserved until the majority of Louis XV.

The disputes of the religious sectaries, the jansenists and molinists, in 1717, were followed by the famous Mississippi scheme, set on foot by Law, the celebrated Scotch projector. Fifty millions of livres, more than two millions sterling, constituted a fund with which the French nation was to undertake a commerce hitherto unknown. The shares were to be purchased with government bills, or bills of the exchequer; and so plausible was the speculation, that upwards of thirty millions of livres were in the first instance subscribed. At the above epoch, the louis d'or was estimated at thirty-six livres; and those who were in possession of government bills, were constrained to receive it at that rate. The public were even forced, by heavy penalties, to carry to the treasury every description of specie. In this way the people were plundered of more than two hundred millions of livres. The parliament remonstrated; but the regent would be obeyed.

About this time a conspiracy was formed against him by Philip V. of Spain, at the instigation of cardinal Alberoni, who had drawn over to his party baron de Gortz, the Swedish minister in Paris. It was discovered by the means of a

courtezan who fraudulently obtained possession of the papers of the prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France. The latter was, as well as his secretary, apprehended on the following day; and the duke de Richelieu, and several others of the French nobility, thrown into prison on suspicion of being accomplices in the plot.

The detention of the Spanish ambassador was an outrage which called aloud for vengeance. From that moment a war was resolved on between the court of Madrid, which demanded a reparation, and the court of Versailles, which refused an atonement for the insult. The marechal de Berwick, who had, by his victories, supported the tottering throne of the king of Spain, commanded the French army, and had under him the young duke de Liria, whose father was a general officer in the Spanish army. The French found little difficulty in making themselves masters of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian. By sea, the vast projects of cardinal Alberoni failed of success. The fleet destined for the conquest of Sicily was defeated by the English admiral Byng; and another Spanish fleet, having on board the pretender, failed in its attempt to make good a landing in Scotland. The insurrection excited in Brittany was soon quelled, in consequence of the dispersion, in a violent storm, of the Spanish ships destined to throw in a supply of ammunition, troops, and money. These miscarriages induced Philip of Spain to consent to a peace on the conditions proposed by the court of London; and to these conditions was added the dismissal of cardinal Alberoni from the ministry.

The earl of Stair, ambassador from the court of Great Britain to that of France, having made an open complaint of the infraction of the treaty of Utrecht, by the protection which France afforded to the pretender, the regent forced the latter to quit France, notwithstanding he had given him his promise to afford him every relief his circumstances might require.

The bank established by the projector Law, in his own name, in 1716, and which had been declared a royal bank in 1718, had produced throughout the kingdom an epidemical delirium, which led it on gaily towards its ruin, and which is unexampled in the history of other nations. This bank, to multiply its funds, and bring them on a level with the debts it would have to pay, found it expedient to bring into the market a great number of shares, or contracts, which enabled the purchasers to participate in the profits it should make with its own funds, as well as in those which would result from the sale of the shares. The subscribers were at liberty to withdraw their funds from the bank, by the delivery of their stock; but the essential point was to inspire a greater confidence in the state paper than in money. This was so successfully accomplished, that the *Rue Quincampoix*, in which the bank was situated, was thronged from morning to night with the multitudes who came to exchange their specie for the billets, and who considered it as a favour to be allowed to disencumber their pockets. To form an idea of the rapidity with which *fortunes* were made, it will suffice to cite the following instance. Forty thousand livres, which had been converted into a hundred thousand

in state billets, and afterwards laid out in shares, produced in October 1719, the immense sum of six hundred and thirty thousand livres. The nobility sold their estates, and the ladies their trinkets, to purchase shares in the bank. All the world seemed to be enriched, and in reality there were some obscure individuals who amassed property. A story is related of a hunchback, who gained, in a few days, a hundred and fifty thousand livres, by bending forward, and lending his protuberance, which served as a desk, to those who had to sign the inestimable contracts.

If the meanest of the subscribers was in the possession of an immense nominal wealth, with which real intrinsic property might be, however, purchased, it may readily be conceived that Law, who had conceived the project, would not be unmindful of himself. He purchased a county in Normandy, and treated with the duke of Sully for the marquisate of Rosni. By this example the dupes were multiplied; every one hastening to convert his specie into paper, and to heap up an imaginary wealth.

The fervor at length ceased. The old financiers exhausted the bank, by drawing on it for immense sums; and when those whom the regent styled *obstinate*, that is, those who could not be prevailed on to prefer paper to money, were desirous to realize their property, and could not be satisfied, the eyes of the public were opened; complaints were uttered on every side; and the public credit fell in an instant. To revive it the regent published a despotic edict, which in reality gave it its death blow. It was enacted that no one should possess a greater sum than five hun-

dred livres in specie. The inquisitorial researches which ensued did not prevent the state billets from becoming useless to their credulous possessors. Individuals who were in the nominal possession of two or three thousand pounds sterling a year, were under the necessity of discharging their domestics, and of selling their plate and furniture, to procure an existence. Others were seen, with their contracts in the hand, demanding charity in the streets. The prices of all the necessary articles of life were at the same time prodigiously augmented.

As the edict above referred to merely regarded specie, those who were in possession of silver coin to any amount, to avoid its seizure, converted it into plate, and congratulated themselves on the address with which they had steered clear of a tyrannical law. By an examination of the books of the silversmiths of Paris, it appeared that in less than three months they had made a hundred and twenty thousand dozens of silver plates, besides dishes, &c. the value of which amounted to more than seven millions sterling. To counteract this expedient, Law, who had now become comptroller general of the finances, obtained another edict by which the quantity of plate was reduced to what was indispensably necessary for the use of the table, in families even of the highest condition. Those who should possess more than that quantity were subjected to very heavy penalties; and the goldsmiths were prohibited from fabricating any article of gold which should weigh more than an ounce.

The most terrible disaster was not yet arrived. At length, on the 21st of May, 1720, all the

specie which Law's system seemed to have melted in a crucible, had been withdrawn from the royal treasury, and the bankrupted nation had no other dependence than on the paper of the bank. It was then that the terrible edict appeared which reduced to the one half the bills that were to be liquidated in specie. The hundredth part of this specie, however, which it would have required to reimburse the infinite multitude of state creditors, was not to be found. Finally, those who had heretofore believed that, in holding these billets, they were possessed of something, at length found themselves to be beggars. Among these unfortunate families, many who had contributed largely to the support of the poor, were themselves reduced to the almshouse of their parish. Rage succeeded to consternation. Seditious papers were posted at the corners of the streets, and bills distributed in the houses. One of the latter was conceived in the following terms: "Sir or madam, you are "hereby informed that on Saturday or Sunday "next, unless there should be a change in the "state of affairs, there will be a *Saint Bartholo-* "*mew* (a massacre). Do not leave your house, "neither yourself nor your servants. May God "preserve you from fire. Give timely notice to "your neighbours. May 25th, 1720."

Law escaped the vengeance of the populace, by the protection the regent afforded him. The public were in some measure appeased when they saw him expose to public sale his furniture and estates, no less than fourteen of which bestowed titles on the possessor. Being constrained to leave France, he retired to Amsterdam, and

from thence to Venice, where he died in poverty and obscurity. The mischiefs he occasioned were not confined to France. In England, the South Sea bubble, as it was termed, lasted for a year, and did incredible mischief. In Holland the deception was more speedily detected.

Louis XV. was crowned at Reims in the month of October 1722, and on the following year entered on his majority. The duke d'Orleans, who still retained all the authority of regent, without the title, introduced to him, as his prime minister, the cardinal Dubois. After the death of that minister, who enjoyed his post a few months only, the duke of Orleans took on himself the management of public affairs, by a constant application to which his health soon became impaired. He died in the month of December 1724, and was succeeded in his ministry by the cruel duke of Bourbon, the author of the second revocation of the edict of Nantz, which was the earliest act of his authority. What had already occurred in the reign of Louis XIV., again happened; a multitude of subjects necessary to the commerce and population of France, were obliged to seek a shelter in other states, to which they transferred their talents and their industry. In the month of October 1725, Sweden published a manifesto, inviting the French protestants to settle in that country, and holding out to them the highest encouragements.

The next measure of the duke of Bourbon was to send back the infanta of Spain, who had come to France to espouse the young monarch. Philip of Spain was so much irritated by this affront, that he recalled the ambassadors he had

at Cambray, where the congress was dissolved. He entered into an alliance with the emperor and the princes of the empire; and, in return, France formed an alliance with England and Prussia.

Having failed in his project of marrying the king to his sister, the princess of Vermondois, the duke of Bourbon came to a decision in favour of Mary, the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, the dethroned king of Poland. She bore to Louis three princesses in succession, in consequence of which public prayers were offered up in Paris and throughout France for the birth of a dauphin.

Fleury, the king's preceptor, gave so much umbrage, by his presence in the cabinet, to the duke of Bourbon, that his disgrace was resolved on by that haughty minister, who took occasion one day to shut the door against him, as he entered the apartment of the privy council. Fleury being uncertain whether this affront had not been authorized by the king, retired to his country seat. His retreat was, however, but a momentary triumph to the partizans of the duke, who was ordered by the king to write to Fleury, to solicit his return. This humiliation was the sure presage of the fall of the minister, and accordingly, shortly after Fleury had returned to court, the duke of Charost repaired to the apartment of the duke of Bourbon, with a *lettre de cachet*, signed by the king, conceived in the following terms: "I order you, on penalty of being pu-"nished for your disobedience, to repair to Chan-"tilly, and to remain there until further orders." His rival thus became prime minister, and shortly after received from the pope a cardinal's

hat, as the reward of his obsequious deportment towards the see of Rome.

The disgrace of the duke of Bourbon was followed by the abolition of a heavy impost he had levied on the subject. The new minister allowed France to repair her losses tranquilly, without any innovation in her commerce, which began to pour in new wealth. Those who profited by his skilful administration were the more arduous in their mercantile pursuits, as they were not in danger of seeing the honest fruit of their industry once more converted into paper. By degrees, the internal affairs of the nation recovered from the violent shock they had received. With respect to political affairs, cardinal de Fleury had the address to conciliate the differences which had arisen between the courts of London and Madrid, as well as between the former of these courts and the emperor. The Imperial ambassador in London had dared to tax the king's speech with calumny and falsehood, when it asserted to the two houses of parliament, that there was a secret connivance between the emperor and the king of Spain, to fix the pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

The next effort of the cardinal minister was to dissolve the alliance between Spain and the emperor, and to prevail on the former of these powers to contract an alliance of still greater importance with Great Britain and France. By his address, the three courts entered into the treaty which was concluded at Seville, and in which the states of Holland afterwards joined.

The birth of a dauphin in 1731 was productive of rejoicings, not only in France, but in most

of the countries of Europe. The states general presented a gold medal, of the value of fifty ducats, to the messenger dispatched to the Hague by their ambassador in Paris on this joyful occasion. Another medal was struck in Paris, on which were represented the king and queen, with the figure of the earth on the reverse, seated on a globe, and holding the dauphin in her arms. Over this figure was the legend: *vota orbis*, the wishes of the universe.

Europe continued in the tranquil enjoyment of peace until the year 1733, when the death of the king of Poland, Frederic Augustus elector of Saxony, gave rise to new commotions, by reviving the hopes of Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Louis XV. This dethroned monarch declared that he would not suffer any power to oppose the freedom of the election of a new king of Poland. On the other hand, the emperor Charles VI. was resolved to employ his own arms, and those of Russia, to have the election carried in favour of his son-in-law, the son of the deceased king of Poland. Cardinal de Fleury, hesitating between his desire to preserve the peace, and his wish to shun, by a declaration of war, the reproach which Louis XV. would have merited by his neglect to restore to his father-in-law a throne which he had already possessed, betrayed an indecision which was fatal to the latter. To keep up appearances, however, he succeeded in obtaining a declaration at the diet held at Warsaw, that such of the Polonese nobility alone as were born of catholic parents could pretend to the crown; and that the primate alone, whom he had brought over to his interests, could proclaim the king when the

election was over. It was fixed for the 25th of August, to afford time to Stanislaus to repair to Warsaw. Having traversed Germany in disguise, he proceeded thither, and remained for some days concealed in the house of the French Ambassador. As soon as he made himself known, he was received by the public with the most unequivocal demonstrations of joy. When he was about to be proclaimed in the most solemn and legal manner, he was opposed by the partizans of the elector of Saxony, to whose aid the emperor had come forward. On the entry of the Russian troops into Warsaw, Stanislaus retired to Dantzic. He was afterwards exposed to great and unmerited persecutions, without being able to recover the crown to which he had so legitimate a title. During the struggle Dantzic was taken possession of by the Russians.

On the following year Louis XV. manifested his determination to put himself at the head of an army against the Imperialists and Russians; but having formed an alliance with Spain and Sardinia, and his minister having had the address to engage Great Britain and Holland to observe a strict neutrality, he resolved to employ his generals in inflicting a punishment on Germany alone, as the Russians were at too great a distance from him to be made to feel the weight of his powerful arm. In consequence of this resolution a French army advanced towards the Rhine, and took possession of Traerbach. The duke of Berwick laid siege to Philipsbourg with sixty thousand men, and was killed by a cannon shot in visiting the trenches. After his death the marquis of Asfeld took the command of the

army, and obtained possession of the above city on the 12th of June, while prince Eugene, who commanded the Imperialists, was so badly supported by the court of Vienna, that he was forced to remain inactive in his fortified camp at Heilbron. During the time that this French army pursued its operations on the Rhine with vigour, marechal Villars, who had been declared generalissimo of the French, Spanish, and Piedmontese forces in Italy, terminated his brilliant career at the age of eighty-two years, after having seized on Milan. When he was in his last agonies, his confessor observed to him, in the way of consolation, that God had bestowed on him a greater favour than on marechal Berwick, who had been slain by a cannon ball. "What!" replied he, "did he perish in that manner? I always said that he was more fortunate than myself."

His successor, marechal de Coigni, gained two battles, at the same time that the duke of Montemar, the commander of the Spanish army, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, in the vicinity of Bitonto. The Imperialists, however, under the command of the prince of Wurtemberg, surprised the camp of marechal Broglio near Guastalla, and carried off a small detachment. The marechal himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In the combat of Guastalla, which followed, he obtained a complete victory. In short, the successes of the French were such, that the emperor sacrificed to his anxiety to give a king to Poland, nearly the whole of his Italian possessions. He was glad to accept a peace on the best conditions he could obtain, and to assign

to Francis, duke of Lorraine, the inheritance of the throne of Tuscany, which had before been granted to don Carlos. The duchy of Lorraine was bestowed on the unfortunate Stanislaus of Poland, on condition that, at his death, it should be revertible to France. The latter power acceded to the famous act of succession, called the pragmatic sanction, which had already been guaranteed by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the states of the empire.

At a moment when France was indebted to Great Britain for the neutrality which had been observed in her contest with the house of Austria, an extraordinary edict appeared, enjoining all the English who were without employment instantly to quit France, on pain of being sent to the gallies. This edict was so rigorously executed, that in the space of a few days the prisons of Paris were filled with the subjects of Great Britain. The earl of Waldegrave, the British ambassador in Paris, succeeded in modifying this ordinance, which was restricted to vagabonds without any calling or profession.

From the commencement of the year 1729, two rival nations, the Genoese and Corsicans, had waged against each other a desperate warfare. In 1737, the Genoese solicited the good offices of France, to enable them to establish their authority over their adversaries. The Corsicans, on their side, drew up a memorial, which was presented to Louis XV. by Hyacinth Paoli, but which had not the effect they intended, as, among other harsh conditions, the mediation of the French monarch required them to lay down their arms. They resolved rather to perish than to comply

with this condition; and were headed by baron de Nenhof, who had contrived to have himself proclaimed king of Corsica, with the title of Theodore I. The marquis de Maillebois, at the head of sixteen battalions, of three hundred hussars, and of the troops of the republic of Genoa, obtained possession of the whole of Corsica in less than a month. It remained under the domination of the Genoese, until the war of 1740, which ravaged the greater part of Europe. In the prosecution of that war the Austrians subjugated Genoa, and delivered the Corsicans from the thraldom in which they had been held.

On the death of the emperor Charles VI., in 1740, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, claimed the right of succession, which the pragmatic sanction secured to her, and which was guaranteed by almost all the powers of Europe. On the other hand, Charles Albertus, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession in virtue of the testament of the emperor Ferdinand I., brother to Charles V.—Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, brought forward still more recent claims, those of his queen, the eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain extended his pretensions to all the states of the house of Austria; and Louis XV. might with still greater propriety have pretended to the succession, seeing that he was descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the queens of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. He chose, however, to be an arbiter and protector, rather than a competitor.

Frederic, king of Prussia, proposed to Maria

Theresa that she should cede to him Lower Silesia, on which condition he would guarantee the rest of her dominions, and bestow the Imperial crown on her husband. She rejected this offer; and Frederic marched into Silesia, of which province he soon took possession. On the following year he gained the famous battle of Molvitz, against the Austrian general Neuperg, who commanded an army of eighty thousand Imperialists.

While France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, combined their interests, and prepared their forces for the choice of an emperor, Maria Theresa set about taking possession of the dominions of her father, and received the homages of the states of Austria at Vienna. The provinces of Italy and Bohemia sent their deputies to take the oaths of allegiance; and the Hungarians followed their example. The first act of her administration was to declare her husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, coadjutor in the government of the empire.

The count of Bellisle was appointed by Louis XV. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the diet of Frankfort, assembled for the election of an emperor. He was afterwards entrusted with the command of an army, and was created marechal of France. As the court of Versailles did not hesitate to violate the pragmatic sanction, the marechal conciliated the good graces of the king of Prussia, engaged the elector of Saxony to take the field, before any treaty had as yet been signed, and, after having subsidized the elector of Bavaria, returned to Frankfort, where he was so successful in his negociations, that on the 4th of January, 1742, Charles Al-

bertus ascended the Imperial throne, with the title of Charles VII.

The war was continued, but its object was changed. Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, who would before have willingly surrendered a part of her vast domains, to possess the rest with security, not only preserved them, but pretended that she had a right to indemnities. France, which had been in the first instance a simple auxiliary, was now become one of the principal parties. A war of policy, suddenly changed by unforeseen circumstances, became a war of the passions, which rendered it still more dreadful than before. Germany was ravaged by five principal armies, two of which, composed of French, were commanded by generals of that nation; a third, of Austrians led by prince Charles; a fourth, of English and Hanoverians; and the fifth, of Hollanders, who had at length declared in favour of Maria Theresa. In the interim a Spanish army had been sent into Italy, to take possession of the Milanese, which the queen of Hungary refused to abandon. The grand duke, her husband, was, by the capriciousness of circumstances, forced to allow the Spaniards a passage through his dominions, and to declare his neutrality. The duke of Modena, the doge of Genoa, and the king of Naples, also declared themselves neutral.

As soon as it was decided at the court of France that Spain should be supported in her impotent efforts against England, the marquis d'Antin sailed from Brest with a fleet of twenty-two ships of the line. After a tedious cruise of eight months, he returned to Brest without having atchieved the

smallest enterprise. A fleet of sixteen Spanish ships of the line was blocked in the harbour of Toulon, by a small English squadron. Having been joined by a French fleet of fourteen ships of the line, they at length put to sea. The combined fleets were attacked by the English admiral Matthews; but the engagement which ensued was not decisive.

A part of the army of the marechal de Belleisle, who had returned to Versailles, was incorporated with that of the marechal de Broglio, and the other part with that of the marechal de Noailles, who, having crossed the Rhine, marched towards the Maine, to observe the army of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, commanded by the earl of Stair, and likewise to cover Lorraine and Bavaria, according to the part which that army should take. The marechal found it encamped on the right bank of the river, in the greatest distress for want of provisions and forage. The battle of Dettingen which ensued, and in which George II. of England commanded in person, was fought on the 16th of June, 1743. After a severe contest, in which the king of England displayed the most undaunted courage, the marechal de Noailles ordered a retreat.

The death of cardinal de Fleury happened in the above year. Louis, who had now taken on himself the management of public affairs, declared war against England and Hungary. The counter declaration was published in London on the 31st of March, 1744. Besides the violation of the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction in 1738, it was alledged that France had secretly

abetted Spain in her aggressions, and had besides fortified Dunkirk in violation of the treaty subsisting between the two nations.

At the commencement of May 1744, Louis put himself at the head of his army in Flanders, and took possession of Courtray, Menin, and Ypres. The marechal de Boufflers made himself master of Kenoque; and Furnes surrendered to the prince of Clermont, after a siege of five days. Louis XV. now made his triumphant entry into Dunkirk. The combined army of French and Bavarians was not equally successful on the Rhine, the Austrians having penetrated into Alsace and Lorraine. The marechal de Noailles was detached thither with powerful reinforcements; but was not able to cope with prince Charles, by whom the army of the Imperialists, and their allies, the English and Dutch, was commanded.

The French monarch fell sick at Metz, and was scarcely recovered when he laid siege to Fribourg, which surrendered in the month of November. On his return to Paris he confided the administration of foreign affairs to the marquis d'Argenson, whose first negociation was a marriage he concluded between the dauphin of France, and Maria Theresa, infanta of Spain. The death of the emperor Charles VII. at the commencement of 1745, gave a new turn to the politics of all the cabinets of Europe. It was natural to apprehend that, as the object of the war no longer existed, a general peace would have ensued; and that the queen of Hungary would have rejoiced at the opportunity of placing her husband on the Imperial throne. The contrary was, however, proved by the event.

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Louis XV., accompanied by the dauphin, again set out for Flanders, where he found marechal Saxe at the head of a powerful army, to which were opposed the English and Hanoverians, under the command of the young duke of Cumberland, the son of George II., and the Dutch, commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Owing to the misconduct of the troops of the latter nation the battle of Fontenoy, which was fought on the 11th of May, 1745, was gained by the French. If the Dutch had supported the English, in the onset of the battle, and if they had passed the redoubts situated between Fontenoy and Antoni, the French would have been cut off from every resource, perhaps even from the possibility of a retreat.

Ten days after the above victory, Tournay surrendered to the French arms. Louis XV. and the dauphin, now advanced, at the head of a victorious army, towards Ghent, which they reached in the night time. In an instant the walls were scaled, and the ramparts lined with French soldiers, who entered the city, and opened the gates to the rest of the army. The magistrates of Bruges delivered up their keys to the victorious Louis, on the same day, July 22, on which Oudenarde surrendered to count Lowendall. The duke d'Harcourt took Dendermonde in two days; and Ath did not hold out longer against the marquis of Clermont-Gallerande. Nieuport shared the same fate; and the victorious banners of Louis floated under the walls of Ostend. That city, after a very gallant resistance, surrendered on the tenth day after the trenches had been opened. Having terminated

his prosperous campaign, and provided for the security of his conquests, Louis XV. returned to Paris. His victories were celebrated by public rejoicings, and by an absurd opera, styled *The Temple of Glory*, hastily written by Voltaire, at the request of Louis's mistress, the marchioness of Pompadour.

The first revolution which resulted from the negociations carried on by the mediating powers of Europe, was the elevation of the grand duke of Tuscany to the Imperial throne. Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, came to Frankfort to enjoy the triumph and coronation of her husband. By this event, France miscarried in the great object of the war, that of depriving the house of Austria of the Imperial throne.

On the 15th of September of the above year, 1745, Frederic the Great of Prussia defeated the Austrians and Saxons before Dresden, and on the 18th entered that city. On the 25th of the same month he signed the peace with Austria and Saxony.

In opening the ensuing campaign, France changed her object for the third time, in the prosecution of the war. What she now proposed was to oblige the new empress to cede the states she was desirous to preserve in Italy, and to oblige the Dutch to observe a strict neutrality. Marechal Saxe was in Flanders, where he appeared to be altogether occupied by the pastimes of the winter, and the carnival. One evening, however, after having given an early ball to the ladies of Lille, he suddenly invested Brussels, which capitulated a fortnight after, with a garrison of nine thousand men, who, as well as the general officers, were made prisoners of

war. Louis XV. followed in person, with a powerful army, and found but little difficulty in obtaining possession of Antwerp, which the Dutch considered as one of the bulwarks of their country.

On the departure of the French monarch for Versailles, the command in chief devolved on marechal Saxe, to whom was opposed prince Charles, at the head of the allied troops. The latter could not prevent the fall of Mons, St. Guillian, and Charleroi, which passed under the domination of France. In the month of October, marechal Saxe proposed to his adversary to take up winter quarters, as the troops on both sides had been harassed since the commencement of the year. To this proposition prince Charles replied, that he had neither orders nor counsel to receive from marechal Saxe. "Well," said the marechal, "since that is the case, I will find a way to make "him yield." He accordingly ordered the preparations to be made for attacking the enemy on the following day. In the evening, however, a play was performed in the camp. When the curtain dropped, madame Favart, Saxe's mistress, came forward, and addressed the audience in the following terms: *Gentlemen, to-morrow there will not be any performance, on account of the battle; but the day after we shall have the honour to give you*, &c.

Marechal Saxe was not worse than his word, since the battle of Raucoux terminated in the defeat of the allies. They lost twelve thousand men in killed, and three thousand prisoners. On their side the French had a thousand killed. The night alone prevented the entire destruction of the allied army. The campaign terminated by the

capture of the city of Namur by the prince of Clermont.

In Italy, however, the French lost more than they gained in Flanders. The empress queen having, by her treaty with the king of Prussia, delivered herself from a dangerous enemy, had sent, during the winter, strong reinforcements of troops to defend the Milanese. Don Philip, the infant of Spain, was in possession of the city of Milan, but not of the citadel. The fatal battle of Placenza obliged the French and Spanish troops to retreat from that part of Italy in the utmost disorder. The state of their affairs was rendered still more critical by the death of the king of Spain. His successor, Ferdinand VI., did not feel disposed to do for a brother by a second marriage, what Philip had done for a son, and therefore recalled all his troops from Italy. Don Philip was thus utterly incapacitated from obtaining possession of the Milanese, the only object, or at least the most specious one, of the war between Spain and Austria.

The Austrians, who had been defeated in Flanders, but who were vanquishers in Italy, recovered the places of which they had been dispossessed in the latter territory. Elated with their successes, they crossed the Var with an army of forty thousand men. On their approach, the scattered remnants of the French army of Italy were retreating into Provence, without provisions, without ammunition, and even without implements to break up the bridges. They were closely pressed by the Austrians, to whom the terrified inhabitants made a tender of contributions, to secure themselves from pillage. Marechal Belleisle was sent

into Provence, but before his arrival the islands of St. Marguerite and St. Honoré were in the possession of the enemy.

Genoa having afforded an asylum to Don Philip, whose exhausted army occupied the confines, its inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation by the sudden irruption of the Austrian troops. The senate hastened to send deputies, who were authorized to submit, in the name of the state, to all the conditions it might please the conqueror to impose. The Austrian general imposed a contribution of twenty-four millions of livres, of which sixteen were paid by draining the bank of St. George. The senate pleaded its inability to pay the other eight millions; but the empress queen ordered, not only that this sum should be liquidated, but a similar one raised for the maintenance of nine regiments destined to keep the Genoese under subjection.

The Austrians drew from the arsenal of Genoa cannon and mortars for the conquest of Provence, and forced the inhabitants to work as labourers. They murmured, but obeyed, until at length an Austrian officer struck one of them who was not diligent in the execution of his task. This brutality became the signal of a general revolt: the populace seized, in an instant, on whatever was within their reach; stones, sticks, muskets, swords, and tools and implements of every description. On the ensuing morning they proceeded to the palace of the doge, where they emptied the arsenal. They soon made themselves masters of the two principal gates of the city. In the interim, the senate sent deputies to the Austrian general, who, instead of fighting, negociated, and retreated with

his troops to the gate of Bisagno. The drums now beat to arms; and the enraged inhabitants and peasants, to the amount of twenty thousand, headed by prince Doria, attacked the Austrian general, the marquis de Botta, whom they put to flight at the head of his nine regiments. Four thousand imperialists were made prisoners, and nearly a thousand killed. Their magazines and camp equipage fell into the hands of their pursuers. Those who escaped did not stop till they reached Gavi.

In the mean time, the Austrians, and their allies the Piedmontese, by whom Provence had been invaded, gave up every further idea of the conquest of Toulon and Marseilles, and appeared before the city of Genoa. It was intimated to the senate, which disavowed having had any share in the insurrection, by the court of Vienna, that the eight millions of livres still remaining due were to be furnished, together with thirty millions for the losses the imperial troops had sustained. The four thousand prisoners were besides to be given up, and an exemplary punishment inflicted on the revolters. These hard conditions confirmed the Genoese in their resolution to assert their independence, and to drive the enemy, whom they had already forced out of the capital, from every part of the Genoese territory. Under these circumstances Louis XV. supplied the Genoese with six thousand men, who were landed from the gallies of Toulon and Marseilles, after having escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers. The duke of Boufflers afterwards reached Genoa at the head of eight thousand regulars; and by these

reinforcements the Austrians were compelled to raise the siege of the Genoese capital.

In the campaign of 1747 in Dutch Flanders the arms of Louis XV. were successful. He commanded in person at the battle of Lawfelt, which afforded him a complete victory; and immediately after laid siege to Bergen-op-zoom. This enterprize was considered, not only by the allies, but by the French, as rash and impracticable; notwithstanding which it fell into the hands of the besiegers.

Under these circumstances a general peace was negociated at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The treaty, which was accelerated by the surrender of Maestricht to marechal Saxe, was signed in the month of October. By the principal articles all the conquests which had been made were to be surrendered on each side. The treaty of the quadruple alliance was maintained, for the order of the succession to the crown of Great Britain.

The latter power met with several successes during the war the events of which we have thus rapidly sketched. Louisbourg, which the French considered as the Dunkirk of America, fell under its domination. A French squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, and five frigates, was captured by admiral Anson off Cape Finisterre; and another French fleet of seven sail of the line, having the charge of a fleet of merchantmen bound to the West Indies, fell into the hands of admiral Hawke, with the exception of a single ship.

From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the commencement of a new war in 1755, there were

few important occurrences in France, if the internal police of its government be excepted. A new system of taxation, established by Louis XV. was opposed by the clergy, and by the states of Languedoc. The members of the parliament of Paris were exiled for contumacy, and for refusing obedience to one of the royal edicts. The ordinary tribunals of justice were at the same time suppressed, and replaced by the establishment of a royal chamber. These innovations did not subsist, however, for any length of time; and the disputes which had arisen between the clergy and the magistracy, relatively to the nomination to benefices, were terminated by the interference of the sovereign authority.

The war commenced in 1755 was occasioned by a misunderstanding between the courts of Great Britain and France, respecting the limits of the possessions of each of the powers in North America. The first act of aggression was the capture of two French ships of the line by the English admiral Boscawen. This was followed by the defeat of general Braddock, on the Ohio, by the French troops. He was, as well as nearly the whole of his officers, slain; and the military magazines, &c. fell into the hands of the French. Several other affairs of less moment, between the two contending powers, took place on the North American continent.

In 1756 marechal Richelieu had the command of an expedition which sailed to the Mediterranean, and landed a body of twelve thousand troops on the island of Minorca, then in possession of the English. The capital, Port Mahon, was forced to surrender. Admiral Byng, who had

been sent to throw succours into the island, arrived too late, and was, on his return to England, sentenced to be shot.

A treaty between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia was productive of an unexpected alliance between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. Frederic the Great marched an army into Saxony, which he was desirous to convert into a rampart against the united forces of Austria and Russia; and took possession of Dresden, the capital. He afterwards defeated the Austrian army near Lovositz; and having blockaded the Saxons in their encampment at Pirna, obliged them to surrender prisoners of war, to the amount of fourteen thousand. The empress of Russia, at the instigation of the French ambassador, sent an army of eighty thousand regular troops, to take possession of Ducal Prussia. The Dutch, by the means of the same influence, refused the succours they had promised to the king of Prussia; and the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, declared his intention of marching a hostile army into the Prussian dominions. The king of Denmark declared a strict neutrality. The diet of Ratisbon ordered the triple contingents to be raised by each of the circles of the empire, to protect such of the members of the Germanic body as might be oppressed. And, lastly, France marched into Westphalia an army of a hundred thousand men, under the command of marechal d'Estrées, who, on pretext of attacking the Prussians, was ordered to seize on Hanover.

While the French arms in Westphalia were crowned with success, the king of Prussia marched

into Bohemia with a very formidable army, and laid siege to Prague. On the appearance of an Austrian army commanded by marechal Daun, he was forced to raise the siege. A junction having been formed between the Imperialists and prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been blocked up in Prague with thirty-five thousand men, the Prussians were defeated with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, in killed, wounded, fugitives, and deserters.

Marechal d'Estrées having united his forces with those of the empress, crossed the Weser, at the same time that another French army, commanded by the prince of Soubise, took possession of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldre. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of an Hanoverian army of observation, was defeated by marechal d'Estrées, and obliged to retreat towards Stade. Having been disappointed in the succours he expected from the regency of Hanover, he was forced to sign the convention of Closter-Severn. The marechal d'Estrées was deprived of his command by the intrigues of madame de Pompadour.

The destruction of the king of Prussia appeared to be inevitable. His defeat near Prague was followed by the surprise of Berlin, by the Austrian general Haddick, who levied heavy contributions on that city. The Prussians were afterwards defeated at the entrance of Silesia; and sustained a great loss in a sanguinary conflict with the Russians. The victory of Rosbach, gained by the Prussian monarch, intervened to give a new complexion to affairs. The defeat of the French troops commanded by the prince of Soubise was such, that it rather resembled a precipitate flight

on their part, than the result of a battle. This victory urged the Hanoverians to take up the arms they had quitted at the convention of Closter-Severn.

In North America, the English expedition against Louisbourg, which had been restored to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle miscarried; and one of the most important posts, Oswego, in the possession of the English, fell into the hands of the French. These successes on the part of France were, however, more than counterbalanced by the victories of lord Clive in India.

In the campaign of 1758, the French had to lament the disastrous battle of Crevelt. Prince Ferdinand, at the head of the British and Hanoverian troops, after having forced them to a precipitate retreat, at length brought them to action, and defeated them with a very considerable loss. They were commanded by marechal Belleisle, from whom the highest expectations had been formed.

While France and Germany were weakened by a mixture of losses and successes, an English fleet burned the shipping and magazines in the port of St. Malo. An expedition, under the command of commodore Howe, afterwards sailed to Cherbourg, and effected a landing of the troops with little or no obstacle. After the immense expenses France had incurred to render that port one of the strongest in Europe, the English completely destroyed the works and basin. They found more difficulty in the demolition of the place, than in its conquest. Having carried off the guns and mortars, the English squadron proceeded to the

bay of St. Lunar, near St. Malo, but not being able to effect a landing of the troops, went round to the bay of St. Cast. It was there that the troops were landed; but they were so closely followed by the governor of Britany, at the head of a large body of troops, that they were glad to re-embark, with the loss of about six hundred of their rear-guard, who were cut off in the retreat.

The British arms were more successful in North America, where a second and successful attack was made on Louisbourg. Between five and six thousand men, of whom the garrison was composed, were made prisoners, and all the vessels in the port destroyed. The surrender of the forts of Fontenac and du Quesne, afterwards called Pittsbourg, followed. In the West Indies the capture of Guadaloupe, was followed by that of the French leeward islands; and in Africa they made themselves masters of the French settlements of Senegal and Goree.

In the campaign of 1759 the French carried several important posts on the Weser; but were defeated by Prince Ferdinand in the memorable battle of Minden. The victory was principally to be ascribed to the valour and steadiness of the British troops engaged. Minden surrendered on the following day; and the French retreated to the other side of the Weser. They were pursued by Prince Ferdinand, who defeated them whenever they opposed to him the smallest resistance.

To repair their losses in America and Germany, the French projected the invasion of Great Britain, for which purpose three squadrons were fitted. The three frigates commanded by Thurot, after having alarmed the inhabitants of Carrick-

fergus, were captured, and carried into a British port. The second expedition, commanded by the duke of Aiguillon, was defeated by the gallant Hawke; and the Toulon squadron, by the no less gallant Boscawen, off Cape Lagos.

The conquest of Quebec by the celebrated Wolfe, was accomplished with a force vastly inferior to that of the French general Montcalm, who, however, conducted himself with great skill and bravery at the head of his troops. He perished in the midst of the action; as did likewise the intrepid Wolfe, whose career of glory was checked at a very early period of life. The reduction of the rest of Canada, by General Lord Amherst, followed; and Niagara surrendered to Sir William Johnson.

To the end that the events of the war between France and the allies might not be interrupted, the recital has been carried up to the commencement of 1760. We will now take a slight retrospect of what was passing in the interior of France.

The disputes between the clergy and the magistracy were revived with new acrimony; and, by the derangement of the finances, a fermentation excited in every part of the kingdom, when an unforeseen event occurred which produced a general consternation. On the 5th of January, 1757, Louis XV. was assassinated at Versailles, while surrounded by his guards and great officers of state. In getting into his carriage, to proceed to Trianon, where he was to spend the night, he received a stab in his side from one of the group assembled to witness his departure. Looking around him, he recognized the assassin, and pointed him out to his guards. The wound,

which was at first apprehended to be mortal, proved, on examination, to be slight, and not to present the smallest indication of danger.

This favourable prognostic did not lessen the rigour of the punishment inflicted on the regicide, Damiens. He urged, in his defence, that he had not the smallest intention to encompass the death of the king, but merely to bring him back to a sense of the duty he owed to God and the nation, by inflicting on him a slight wound, which might lead him into the road of repentance. He particularly dwelt on the passiveness of the monarch in the disputes between the clergy and the magistrates, and to the libertinism into which he had been drawn by the bad example of the court.

Damiens was condemned to tortures similar to those which had been inflicted on Ravaillac, the assassin of Henry IV. We shall draw a veil over these horrors, and content ourselves with observing that he preserved until the last, the same audacity, and the same *sang-froid*, he had manifested on the first examination. His responses were even occasionally blended with gay and ironical sallies. He declared that he had meditated his purpose during three years, without communicating it to any one. "If, he added, I could have suspected that my hat was aware of it, I would have thrown it into the fire."

To return to the events of the war. After several inconsiderable actions in 1760, between the allies and the French, the latter obtained possession of the principality of Hesse. As the war in Germany had been equally ruinous both to France and England, and as the former of these powers had besides sustained great losses both in

North America and in the East Indies, it was agreed to negociate a treaty of peace at Augsbourg. The negociations were, however, broken up by the imprudence of M. Bussi, a French agent, who had been sent to London, to settle amicably the disputes relative to the limits in North America, a question which could not with propriety be brought before the congress in Germany.

To prevent the loss of its establishments in the East Indies, the French government sent count Lally, an experienced general, to Pondicherry. He rendered himself so obnoxious to the inhabitants, that he rather accelerated than retarded the surrender of that place to the British forces. Sir Eyre Coote, the British general, would not allow any terms of capitulation; and as the French had demolished fort St. David, Pondicherry shared pretty nearly the same fate. The troops belonging to the garrison, and the civilians belonging to the French East India company, having been embarked for Europe, the fortifications, walls, and magazines, were destroyed. The unfortunate governor, count Lally, by birth an Irishman, was decapitated at Paris on a suspicion of having treacherously delivered up the place.

In the spring of 1761, prince Ferdinand, the commander in chief of the allied forces, penetrated into the principality of Hesse, which was occupied by the French, and into Thuringen. This bold manœuvre made so great an impression on the French, that they fled, and left in their rear Gottingen and Cassel, where they had considerable bodies of troops. Fritzar capitulated to prince Ferdinand; and the marquis of Granby

reduced the fortresses in the environs. In proportion as the French army continued to retreat, the allies took possession of their magazines. Marechal Broglio having at length collected all his forces, obliged prince Ferdinand to raise the siege of Cassel, and to discontinue the blockade of Ziegenhagen. The events of this campaign were terminated by the capture of Belleisle by the English.

The celebrated family compact between France and Spain, was dearly purchased by the latter nation. In 1762 Havannah was attacked by admiral Pocock and the earl of Albemarle, to whom that city surrendered, together with the ships of war in the port, and twenty-seven merchantmen very richly laden. Two months after, the English took possession of Manilla the capital of the Philippine Islands; but gave it up on the condition of a ransom which was never paid.

In the campaign of 1762, the military events were, comparatively, of little importance. They were entirely in favour of the allies, with the exception of the battle of Joannesberg, when the prince of Condé obtained an advantage over prince Ferdinand. The marquis of Granby, at the head of the English, distinguished himself pre-eminently in an attack on the French in their encampment at Grabenstein. The whole of their army would have been destroyed, had it not been for the intrepidity and presence of mind of M. Stainville, one of the French general officers, who sacrificed the whole of the corps of infantry he commanded, to secure the retreat of the cavalry.

While these military operations were going on, the negociations for peace were not neglected at

Augsbourg, where they had been commenced in the month of June of the above year. The definitive treaty which followed was signed in Paris on the 10th of February 1763. Without entering into any of the particulars, it will suffice to remark, that it was as humiliating to France, as advantageous to Great Britain.

The last epoch of the reign of Louis XV. which may be compared to what has been mythologically and emphatically denominated the *iron age*, was now arrived. That monarch, who, in the early part of his life, had been a model of the virtues, was so much changed by the depravation of his morals, as to become insensible, not *only* to the disgrace and ruin of his state, but to the loss of his nearest and dearest relatives. The duchess of Parma, the princess of Condé, the count de Charolois, and the duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin, were suddenly snatched off. Their death was followed by that of the marchioness de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis; and, shortly after, the dauphin, whose virtues had endeared him, not only to France, but to all Europe, was attacked at Fontainebleau by a malignant fever which soon terminated his existence. A singular concurrence of fatalities appeared to be united in the royal family. The dauphiness, who had never quitted the bed-side of her husband during his fatal illness, and had inspired the pestilential miasmata, fell a victim to her conjugal love. It was trusted that these sad examples would bring back Louis to a sense of his religious and moral duties; but, on the death of his queen, in 1768, he returned to his licentious habits, and at the same time suffered his subjects to be

plundered by the minions who surrounded his throne.

The duke of Parma, grandson of Louis XV., having expelled the jesuits from his dominions, a dispute ensued between pope Clement XIII. and the French monarch, in consequence of which the latter seized on Avignon and the whole of the county Venaissin. A new pontiff, however, Ganganelli, having acted with a greater policy than his predecessor, by the entire abolition of the society of Jesus, Avignon was restored to him in 1773, together with Benevento, and Ponte-Corvo.

After the death of Madame de Pompadour Louis remained for several years without a regular mistress. He at length became enamoured of mademoiselle L'Ange, whom he created countess du Barri, and who was received at court with as much pomp as if she had been his queen. She made a greater expenditure of the public treasures than all his former mistresses taken together.

At the marriage of the dauphin, afterwards the unfortunate Louis XVI., with the equally unfortunate Marie Antoinette of Austria, in 1770, a melancholy accident, which seemed to be the precursor of their future misfortunes, happened in the *Rue Royale* in Paris. A fire-work having been let off in the *Place* Louis XV. opposite to the above street, and the populace running in different directions, some towards the square, and others towards the *boulevards*, or ramparts, where entertainments and refreshments were given, the pressure became so great, that nearly twelve hundred persons were killed, and an immense number wounded and mutilated. In the midst of the

tumult a large scaffolding gave way, and buried in its ruins those who had stationed themselves beneath to avoid the impetuous flux and reflux of the mob. The dauphin was so much affected by this catastrophe, of which he had been the indirect cause, that he addressed the minister of police in the following terms: "I have learned, with the "deepest affliction, the misfortunes which have "happened in Paris on my account. The sum of "two thousand crowns (two hundred and fifty "pounds sterling) which the king allows me eve-"ry two months for my pocket-money, has just "been paid to me. It is all I have at my disposal. "I send it for the relief of the unfortunate suf-"ferers." His benevolent example was followed by the royal family, the princes of the blood, the clergy, and all the orders of the state.

The disputes between Louis XV. and his parliaments terminated in the disgrace of the duc de Choiseul, the prime minister, and in the triumph of the party of the duc d'Aiguillon, who had been tried by the parliament of Paris for malversations in his government of Britany, and deprived of his privileges as a peer of the kingdom. A new parliament was chosen, and the members of the old one sent into exile.

The administration of Maupeou was universally detested on account of the dilapidations by which it was attended. Louis XV. had, at the above epoch, levied more taxes than all his predecessors collectively. Such was the state of France, when that monarch was attacked by the small pox, to which disease he fell a victim on the 10th of May 1774.

It is said that the profusion of this monarch led him, in the first instance, to undertake the scandalous traffic of a monopoly of corn, which, while it starved his subjects, enabled him to supply the extravagant claims of his mistresses and favourites. It is at least certain that, at his demise, two hundred millions of livres in specie were found in his private treasury, and that their acquisition could be traced to no other source. An individual of the name of Beaumont, who had acquired a knowledge of the particulars of this traffic, on which account he was thrown into prison, was the author of the discovery. Louis XV. left behind him an odious memory.

CHAPTER VII.

Events of the disastrous Reign of Louis XVI.—Origin and Progress of the Revolution up to the Murder of that unfortunate Monarch.

IF there be a subject more worthy to be recorded in history than any other, it is that of a wretched but unoffending monarch, precipitated from his throne at a period of life when he might still have flattered himself with the enjoyment of a long prosperity, and brought to condign punishment by a cruel and unrelenting faction which had not a single crime to allege against him. Such was the fate of Louis XVI.; and posterity will enquire how it happened that a nation, celebrated

for its urbanity, and for the exercise of the milder virtues, should have calmly looked on when so harsh a sentence was pronounced on so virtuous a sovereign.

On his accession to the throne, Louis XVI. made choice of M. Turgot, an upright and enlightened minister, to fill the place of comptroller general, to the end that the abuses which had, during the late reign, crept into the administration of the finances, might be remedied. The first measure of this minister was to re-establish the unrestrained commerce of corn in the interior of the kingdom. Notwithstanding this was done with the most benevolent intention, that of relieving the distresses of the suffering poor in several of the provinces, tumults ensued, which obliged the king to hold a bed of justice at Versailles in 1775.

France having taken advantage of the disputes which subsisted between Great Britain and her North American colonies, to enable the latter to assert their independence, was on the eve of being drawn into a war. Money was needed; and M. de Maurepas persuaded the king that by the re-establishment of the old parliament, the members of which had been exiled at the close of the preceding reign, his edicts would be enregistered without difficulty, and his subjects engaged to subscribe to the loans, and to pay the taxes without a murmur. Louis XVI. yielded to these reasonings, and marked out the just limits between his own authority and that of the magistracy.

Under the management of M. de la Sartine, the minister of marine, the French navy was placed on a very respectable footing. In the short

space of two years France could boast the possession of sixty-seven sail of the line, besides a considerable number of frigates and smaller vessels.

Louis XVI. having acknowledged the independence of the North Americans, with whom he entered into a treaty of amity and commerce, the rupture between Great Britain and France became inevitable. The above treaty was in every point of view impolitic, more especially as it authorized the revolt of rebellious subjects against their legitimate sovereign. On this occasion, as well as on many others, he was very badly advised. The marquis de la Fayette arrived in America towards the close of the campaign of 1777, and laid the foundation of a reputation which was, in the event, fatal to his happiness.

During the American contest the French arms recovered the celebrity they had forfeited during the preceding war. In the East Indies, Suffren, and in the West Indies, and on the American continent, d'Estaing, Vaudreuil, Lamothe-Piquet, and Guichen, acquired a well-merited reputation by sea. They were not, however, able to cope with those to whom they were opposed, notwithstanding Great Britain had to contend against three European powers, and her refractory colonies, the independence of which she was finally obliged to declare. In the land service, among the French warriors who distinguished themselves, may be cited with a particular emphasis the names of Bouillé and Rochambeau.

We proceed now to the remote causes of the French revolution; and are necessarily led to the conspiracy of the duke of Orleans, one of the

most depraved characters of which history can furnish an example. The unnatural hatred he bore to Louis XVI. was founded on the refusal of the latter to appoint him to the office and dignity of high admiral of France. He allied himself secretly with the factious subjects, and, in general, with all those who were dissatisfied with the court. The dispute between the minister of finances and the parliament soon afforded him a meet opportunity to gratify his revenge. The parliament having remonstrated against a loan proposed by M. de Calonne, Louis XVI. erased from the registers the motives on which the remonstrance was founded. The minister now convened an assembly of the notables, and declared that the expenditures exceeded the receipts by a hundred millions of livres. His predecessor, M. Necker, endeavoured to prove that this *deficit* was not imputable to him. He was exiled; and the disgrace of M. Calonne soon followed. The notables were dismissed, and the court thrown into the utmost embarrassment.

Brienne, the new minister of finances, had recourse to several expedients to relieve the exigencies of the state, and, among others, to a stamp tax, and a tax on territorial properties. These imposts were registered, in the presence of the king, in a bed of justice; but the parliament protested against this act of the royal authority, and its members were exiled to Troyes. They were soon after recalled on condition that they should not refuse to register a loan of four hundred millions of livres. It was agreed that the assembly to be holden by the king should be called *Royal*, and not a bed of justice, a denomination

which began to be odious. This conciliatory arrangement gave so much alarm to the duke of Orleans and his fellow conspirators, who were determined to accomplish the overthrow of the state, that they agreed to attend the royal sitting, purposely to limit the authority of the ministers, and to force the king to convene the states general. It took place on the following day, when the king entered without bearing about his person any of the marks of royalty. He was accompanied by his court, his ministers, the princes, and the peers of the realm. Having expressed his wish that the edict for the raising of the loan should be registered without delay, the silence which ensued was suddenly interrupted by the duke of Orleans, who, regarding the king with an insolent air, demanded imperatively whether he was present at a royal sitting, or at a bed of justice. The monarch having replied that it was a royal sitting, the duke of Orleans observed, that, as the registry of the loan was, according to his opinion, illegal, it would be necessary to add, for the security of those who were supposed to have taken a part in the deliberations, that the measure was resorted to by the express command of the king. To this Louis XVI. replied that he had done nothing which was not very legal. The loan having been registered, he retired.

Such was the pretext of which the duke of Orleans availed himself, to put himself at the head of the discontented faction. At his suggestion, the parliament, after the departure of the king, declared that the loan was illegal, and the deliberations incomplete, because the votes of the assembly had not been collected. On his side,

the king declared, that he was not so much offended by the declaration of the duke of Orleans, as by the tone of insolence with which it had been delivered. As he had been informed that the counsellors of the parliament held nocturnal meetings in the Orleans palace, and that their conduct on the above occasion was the result of one of these meetings, he ordered the duke of Orleans to retire to his country seat, and issued *lettres de cachet* for the arrest of two of the counsellors, Freteau and Sabbatier. The queen was suspected of being the adviser of this rigorous measure, which at such a moment of political effervescence was highly impolitic.

Scarcely had the duke of Orleans reached the place of his exile, than he vented his rage in the bitterest execrations against the king and queen, on whose destruction he was resolved, should it even be at the expence of his own life and fortune. His virtuous duchess, who had been misled by his hypocritical promises, presented herself to Louis XVI., and obtained his pardon. Having been recalled from his exile, he procured an interview with the king, in whose presence he put on the exterior of gratitude and submission; but the thorn still rankling in his bosom, he pursued more ardently than ever the execution of his atrocious project.

It was promoted by the existing circumstances. The court stood in need of supplies; and the parliament of Paris refused to register any description of loan or impost, notwithstanding the promise of the king to convene the states general. The innovations of the minister, Brienne, and the absurdity of his *plenary court*, had given offence

to all the orders of the state. This minister was dismissed, and his place supplied by Necker.

Hitherto the duke of Orleans had directed the parliaments against the court, in the hope of being appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but the retreat of Brienne induced him to shift his ground. The ex-minister, who was convinced that his disgrace was owing to the inflexible resistance of the parliaments, threw an apple of discord between them and the people, which rendered them odious to the latter. He asserted publicly that the parliament of Paris had refused the territorial impost with no other view than to throw all the burthen on the third estate or commonalty. A general effervescence was thus produced; and, under these unpromising circumstances, the notables were a second time convened.

At this juncture France was a prey to a famine, which, partly real, and partly artificial, could not fail to augment the growing discontents. The inclemency of the season had in some measure destroyed the promise of the last harvest; and the edict relative to the free circulation of corn, had enabled the monopolizers to possess themselves of what remained. At the head of these miscreants was the duke of Orleans, who was the sovereign arbiter of the life or death of the multitude. The granaries in which his own immense capital, and all the sums he had been enabled to borrow, were sunk, were opened or shut according to the dictates of his hellish policy.

In the second assembly of the notables Louis XVI. proposed the discussion of a very hazardous question, whether the votes of the states general should be collected by order, or individually.

His new minister, Necker, contrived to give an unprecedented influence to the third estate. In a letter to the king, the nobility proposed to make a personal sacrifice of their privileges, and to contribute to all the imposts and charges in proportion to their fortunes. Had the dignified clergy followed their example, the monarchy might have been saved.

The states general were opened at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789. As soon as the three orders were seated, according to the prescribed forms, the king made his appearance accompanied by his court. Having noticed that the duke of Orleans was *modestly* seated among the deputies of his jurisdiction, the king sent for him, and addressed him as follows: "I am surprised at not "seeing the first prince of the blood near my per- "son. It appears to me that, under circum- "stances like the present, it is your duty not to "abandon your sovereign. Why, besides, should "you separate yourself from the princes?" The duke of Orleans persisted in his refusal; and the king gave up the point. By the political pretext of associating himself with the deputies of his jurisdiction, the former acquired an additional popularity.

The speech of the king to the deputies was expressive of his benevolent intentions, and of his wish to make every sacrifice to the public good. The verification of the powers of the three orders was productive of a very vehement discussion. The duke of Orleans, whose speech was equally inflammatory with those of Mirabeau and Syeyes, had brought over to his side the majority of the clergy; and the indiscreet measure of Necker, by

which it was stipulated that the number of the *tiers etat* should be at least equal to that of the other two orders conjunctively, threw the preponderance into the scale of the former, who could not fail to find many adherents in the superior classes.

From the moment that the deputies of the third order had formed themselves into a national assembly, the other orders were led away by their impulsive force, and the equilibrium entirely destroyed. All the wise and beneficent measures proposed by the monarch were rejected. The oath taken in the tennis court of Versailles, by the members of the national assembly, who had been joined by the greater part of the clergy, to maintain an equality of rights, was productive of a great fermentation, to which the dismissal of M. Necker furnished a new aliment. It would be superfluous to detail all the tumultuous proceedings which ensued, both in the national assembly, and among the populace of the capital. It will suffice, therefore, to observe, that Mirabeau, the creature of the duke of Orleans, gave the signal of revolt, both in the assembly at Versailles, and in the palace of his protector in Paris. Having caused a report to be circulated that the deputies were to be massacred, and the inhabitants of the capital exposed to all the horrors of a famine, he appeared at the *tribune*, and demanded that the troops, by whom the safety of the assembly was menaced, should be enjoined, by a decree, to withdraw, and that another decree should be enacted, to declare that the minister who had been dismissed merited the confidence of the nation. These decrees were in reality a declaration of war.

The busts of Necker and of the duke of Orleans were carried in triumph through the avenues of the palais royal, and the streets of Paris. The storm thickened; and the destruction of the Bastille soon followed. Louis XVI. and his court were mute spectators of these events. When at length it was suggested to the king that he should adopt some strenuous measures to quell the popular insurrection, he replied that he would not allow a single individual to perish in his quarrel.

He repaired to the national assembly, and called on the representatives to aid him in re-establishing the tranquillity of the state, observing that his reliance on the honour and fidelity of his subjects, had induced him to give orders that the troops should be withdrawn from Paris and Versailles. He afterwards repaired to the Hotel de Ville in Paris, to announce that he put himself at the head of his people, who might be constantly assured of his paternal affection. On his promising the recal of Necker, the exclamation of *vive le roi* was reiterated both within the assembly, and in the passages which led to it. It should be observed that the Parisians had gone out in a body to meet the king, on his entry into the capital, and had, on the instigation of the conspirators, assumed a very menacing aspect. In presenting the keys of the city to Louis XVI., Bailly, the mayor, observed that his ancestor, Henry IV. had conquered Paris, but that Paris had now re-conquered its king. At this moment Louis appeared to have conciliated the affections of his subjects.

A slight incident occurred to produce a new exasperation on the part of the deluded populace.

The regiment of Flanders having arrived at Versailles, the royal guards gave a banquet to the corps, as was customary on these occasions. On the health of the nation being proposed, it was refused by the guests, who were besides accused of having insulted the national cockade. The rumours which were propagated in Paris, produced a general insurrection of the populace. The women were more particularly zealous in proclaiming that the nation had been betrayed; the national cockade trodden under foot; and the public distresses mocked by the splendid repast given by the royal guards, in such a time of scarcity. This happened in the morning of the 5th of October 1789; and on the following day the king, queen, and royal family, were forced from Versailles by the mob who had proceeded thither, and from whose violence they had a very narrow escape. Many of the royal guards were killed, and the survivors obliged to wear the national cockade.

Thus was Louis XVI. brought captive, with his family, into the capital, where he was strictly watched. This event was the signal of the emigration of many of the nobility and clergy, who foresaw that they had no longer any security in France. The monarch himself was under the necessity of writing to the different powers of Europe, to say that he had quitted Versailles *of his own free will*, to reside in his *good* city of Paris. It having been industriously circulated that it was his intention to make his escape to Metz, he disconcerted the plans of his enemies by a free acceptance of the constitution. On the 14th of July 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the

Bastille, he took the civic oath at the general federation, at which was likewise present the duke of Orleans, who had returned from England, whither he had been sent on a particular mission. The constitution above referred to abolished the feodal system, and the titles of the nobility.

The departure of the king's aunts for Italy, and the flight of monsieur, his brother, occasioned the monarch to be so closely watched, that he was not even permitted to pay a visit to St. Cloud. To this close captivity were superadded the grossest outrages. Nothing was spoken of but the Austrian committee, and the intrigues of the queen, by whom it was represented that all the European powers were rendered hostile to France. The legislature had the insolence to separate the terrace of the Feuillans from the rest of the garden of the Thuilleries, by the means of cords and ribbons, with an injunction to any one whatever not to pass beyond that limit, to the end that there might be no correspondence kept up with the supposed Austrian committee. In short, the situation of Louis XVI. and his family became so insupportable under all the harsh restraints which were imposed, that it became absolutely necessary for them to break the chains of their captivity. Accordingly, on the night of the 20th of June 1791 the king and royal family contrived to escape from the vigilance of their implacable enemies. When on the eve of his departure, Louis addressed a proclamation to the French nation, to explain his conduct both before and after the convocation of the states general, and to expose the motives which induced him to quit Paris and take up his residence elsewhere. To

this declaration was opposed another, addressed by the national assembly to the people of France, in which the king's flight was represented as an attack on the national sovereignty.

The unfortunate monarch was recognized at St. Menehoult by Drouet the postmaster, who preceded him to Varennes. He was there obliged to alight, with his family, at the house of the solicitor of the *commune*, on pretext of the necessity of examining his passport. The detachments which had been intended for his escort not having reached their destination, and the streets of Varennes having been, as well as the bridge, blockaded, he was constrained to return to Paris with his family, and to become a prisoner once more.

The history of the legislative assembly up to the memorable 10th of August 1792, may be comprised in a few words. It consisted of unceasing attacks on the small share of power delegated to the king by the constituent assembly, and of denunciations against the ministers, whatever might have been the nature of their operations. This assembly was principally composed of jacobins, by whom the butcheries of Avignon were sanctioned, and who bestowed an unqualified approbation on all the crimes which disgraced *regenerated* France. The *veto* opposed by the king to the decrees relative to the emigrants and the unconstitutional clergy, occasioned him to lose a considerable share of the popularity he had acquired after his flight; and the asylum given to the emigrants at Coblentz, together with the coalition of Pilnitz, supplied the jacobins with ample matter for their alarms and suspicions.

The efforts made by Louis XVI., to convince them of his attachment to the constitution, were ineffectual, as appeared by the addresses sent into the departments, charging him with perjury and dissimulation.

In the mean time, the Orleans party, headed by Brissot, demanded a declaration of war. To this measure the king was forced reluctantly to give his assent. As the sole aim of its contrivers was to bring about the abolition of royalty, the army was disorganized, to the end that all the miscarriages might be imputed to the king. The most experienced officers in the land and sea services were proscribed; and in the defeat of the French army at Lille, Dillon, the commandant, was butchered by the patriots.

The incendiary speeches of the Marseillese, at the bar of the assembly, laid the foundation for the disasters of the 20th of June 1792. The mob which was then collected in the suburb of St. Antoine, was headed by the execrable Santerre, and was soon joined by the banditti belonging to the suburb of St. Marcel. On this occasion thirty thousand men and women assembled before the palace of the Thuilleries, in which the king and royal family resided. While they were in the act of forcing the door of the royal apartment, Louis XVI. caused it to be opened, observing to his Swiss guards that he had nothing to dread from the French. He was instantly surrounded by the assassins, who called vehemently for the queen, with menaces which plainly implied the atrocious purpose on which they were bent. Legendre, the conventionalist and butcher, was among the group, and by his

command a red bonnet was put on the head of the king. The execrable Santerre, who had hitherto remained without side, in expectation that the bloody deeds on which he reckoned would be perpetrated, burst into the queen's apartment, followed by the most ferocious of the banditti. At the sight of his destined victim he faultered; and the room being so crouded as to endanger suffocation, he was with some difficulty prevailed on to withdraw with his followers, by those who had hastened to the protection of the queen. Petion now entered the palace, and observing to the *sans-culottes* that, as they had begun the day with dignity and firmness, it behoved them to persist in the same laudable conduct, he recommended to them to withdraw. They complied; and thus were terminated the events of the 20th of June.

Louis XVI. was so fully persuaded of the destiny which awaited him, that in one of his proclamations he introduced the following words: "If those who are desirous to accomplish the overthrow of the monarchy, have need of the commission of another crime, they may perpetrate it. In the present crisis the king will afford, until the last moment, an example of courage and fortitude." He sent for Petion, whom he questioned relatively to the state of Paris, and who answered evasively all the questions put to him. Louis was not ignorant that the insurrections were to be renewed on the following day; but the mayor of Paris persisted in his assertion that tranquillity was restored.

While the unfortunate monarch prepared himself to quit the throne and his existence, the jacobins suppressed, by a decree, the *chasseurs* and

grenadiers, of whom they were afraid, as well as the staff of the national guard. The measures which they pursued until the 10th of August, had for their sole aim the overthrow of the monarchy. During the night of the 9th the sections of Paris followed the impulsion given to them by the insurgents of the suburb St. Antoine, and by the atrocious Danton: they appointed commissioners, and suspended the municipality. While the elements of destruction were thus prepared, Louis XVI. took every precaution which a regard to his security required. He reviewed his faithful Swiss guards, and the few battalions of the national guard stationed at the palace. He could not, however, confide in the allegiance of the latter. The posts of the palace were tripled; and, beside the inner guard, the cavalry were ranged in order of battle at eleven at night, with instructions to allow the insurgents to pass through their ranks, but afterwards, by a sudden manœuvre, to force them to retreat by the narrow passage of the Louvre. Several other dispositions were made by the old marechal de Mailly, who does not appear however to have calculated the force of the insurgents. They were led on by the Marseillese, who were regimented, and had been joined by a great portion of the national guards.

The rebels met with but few obstacles in taking possession of the square (Carousal) facing the palace, where they found several pieces of ordnance. While they menaced the destruction of the palace, Roederer, procureur-syndic of the department, entered, and declared to the king and queen, that, as the majority of the national guards had been brought over to the side of the insurgents, the

only resource they had left was to repair to the legislative assembly, and there seek shelter from the fury of the enraged populace. They consented with some hesitation; and in their way thither, with the rest of the royal family, were exposed to the most scandalous outrages. On their arrival the king addressed the assembly as follows: "I am "come here to prevent a great crime. I am per- "suaded that I am, as well as my family, in per- "fect security among the representatives of the "nation. It is my intention to spend the day "here."

In a few minutes Roederer appeared at the bar of the assembly, with an account of the assassination of Mandat, the commandant of the national guard, and of the palace having been forced. He added that the Swiss guards, and all those who had acted on the defensive, had, with but few exceptions, been put to death. The brevity of our plan forbids us to enter into a detail of the horrid massacres which were committed on the memorable 10th of August. We therefore return to the captive monarch and his deplorable family.

They remained in the assembly for three days, in the box set aside for the reporters of the debates. During this interval a decree was unanimously passed for the temporary suspension of royalty, and another for the establishment of a national convention. The civil list was suspended; and the patriotic ministers, Servan, Claviere, and Roland recalled. It was next resolved that the statues of Henry IV., Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Louis XV. should be taken from their pedestals, and converted into cannons. At length Manuel, the reporter of the *commune*, appeared

at the bar of the assembly, and made the following speech. "Nothing further remains for Louis "XVI. except the right of justifying himself before the sovereign people. The temple is to be "assigned to him and his family as an abode; and "they shall there be guarded by twenty men, to "be furnished by the sections. As all their "friends are traitors, they shall not be allowed "to keep up any correspondence. The streets "through which they are to pass shall be lined "with the soldiers of the revolution; and their "greatest punishment will be to hear the exclamations of *vive la nation, vive la liberté.*" The king and his family were instantly conducted to the Temple.

At the epoch of the massacres in the prisons, at the commencement of September, the populace proceeded to the Temple, with the head of the murdered princess of Lamballe on the end of a pike. One of the commissaries, addressing himself to Louis, beckoned him to the window to witness, as he said, a curious spectacle. He was stopped, however, by the colleague of this miscreant; and his sensibility was thus spared the view of so ghastly a sight. The above massacres, as well as those of Versailles, were executed with an atrocity which fury alone could not have inspired. Their object, which had been coolly calculated, was to strike a terror in the French, which should prepare them for the murder of their sovereign.

He was now, together with every part of his family, strictly searched, and deprived of penknives, scissars, and, in general, whatever might have been directed to the aim of self-destruction. This was

fully sufficient to intimate the approaching fate that awaited him. On the 11th of September the new mayor of Paris, Chambon, visited the Temple to inform him that he was no longer to be indulged with the society of the dauphin. He was thus deprived of his best consolation.

About the middle of September Louis and his family were immured in a tower which had been carefully insulated from the rest of the building. The windows were barricadoed, and the light allowed to penetrate in no other way than through a narrow opening at the top, by which the air was likewise admitted. In this cruel captivity, the suffering monarch was deprived, by the merciless commissaries of the commune, of pens, ink, and paper. His pencil even was taken from him; but he was allowed to retain his books. On the 21st of the above month, Manuel came to announce to him the establishment of the republic.

The jacobins and cordeliers having laid aside their own particular resentments, united to concert the destruction of Louis XVI. He was interrogated at the bar of the convention, conformably to a report made on the 6th of November, by a commission of twenty-four members. Among the crimes alleged against him, he was accused of having supplied the enemies of France with money; of being the author of the war waged on the French territory; of having conspired against the liberty of the country, &c. &c. Suffice it to say that his reply to each of the heads of accusation was delivered with firmness and dignity; and that, whatever was the degree of culpability attached to himself, or to his advisers, his implacable enemies were fully bent on his death.

Having demanded a counsel to draw up his defence, he withdrew into the hall of conferences to wait the reply.

The Orleans party, and the jacobins headed by Robespierre, in the expectation that he would have been condemned on that day, had prepared a bed for him in one of the apartments, and would not consent that council should be assigned him. Their opinion was, however, successfully combated. The unfortunate monarch having been led back to the Temple, made choice of Target and Tronchet, two celebrated counsellors, as his advocates. On the refusal of the former to undertake the office, Malesherbes was nominated in his stead. M. de Seze, a young student in the law, became in the event their coadjutor.

On Christmas day Louis XVI. made his will; and on the following day was conducted to the convention. His justificatory discourse was there read by M. de Seze; and he was again led back to the Temple amid the maledictions of the populace. Nothing particular occurred until the 14th of January 1793, when it was decided in the convention that *Louis Capet* had been guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and had made an attack on the general security of the state. Secondly, it was voted that the primary assemblies should not be convened, to give a sanction to the sentence which was to be pronounced. And, thirdly, the nature of the penalty to be inflicted was discussed.

The death of Louis XVI. was decided by a majority of five voices. Before the president proceeded to cast up the votes, he announced that he had just received two letters, one of them

from the ambassador of Spain, the other from the defenders of the king. Relatively to the first, the order of the day was adopted; and it was decreed that the advocates of Louis should not be heard until after the result should have been proclaimed. A paper signed by the monarch, who was desirous that an appeal should be made to the people, was rejected in the same way.

Of all the demands which Louis XVI. made to the convention, after his fatal sentence had been read to him, two only were granted, namely, that he should have a private interview with a priest whom he would name, and another with his family. His tender and affectionate adieus may be better conceived than described. We shall therefore briefly state, that the 21st of January, 1793, was fatal to a sovereign, who, however he may be taxed with weakness, was not devoid of talents and accomplishments. His bitterest enemies have done homage to the benevolence of his heart. Alas! had he possessed the firmness of character which would have enabled him to stem the torrent of faction and mutinous discontent, he might still have been seated on the throne of his ancestors.

The occurrences which led to his tragical end have interrupted the course of the political and military transactions, of which the following is a short retrospect. The partition treaty, as it is termed, between the courts, was signed in the month of July 1791, and on the following month the treaty of Pilnitz was personally signed by the emperor and the king of Prussia. The article of the latter treaty which particularly related to France, purported that effectual measures should

be concerted for the maintenance of the existing treaties with that nation; and that, if every representation to that effect should fail of success, the concurrence of all the European powers should be demanded. As it was impossible that the situation of the royal family of France should not involve that power in a dispute with the emperor, on account of his nearness of consanguinity with Marie Antoinette, the French anticipated the blow which was meditated against them, by a hostile decree passed in the month of April 1792. It was followed in a few days by a declaration of war published against France at Brussels; and in the month of July of the same year the Austrian manifesto appeared. Two other manifestoes were shortly after published by Prussia. The French princes who had quitted France made their declaration in the month of August.

While a part of the courts of Europe were thus preparing hostilities, and the others watching their progress with a lively interest, the French made two successful invasions of the Austrian Netherlands. On their side the great army of the allies entered France, and took possession of Longwi on the 22d of August, about which time the marquis de la Fayette, feeling a remorse of conscience for the part he had taken in the revolution, as well as a deep concern for the sufferings of the royal family, came over to the allies with a part of the staff of his army.

The French general Dumourier was at this time strongly encamped at Grandpré, where he had the mortification to learn that Verdun had been treacherously delivered up to the allies. His outposts were repeatedly attacked, but un-

successfully. The post of Croix-au-bois was, however, forced, and as his army was reduced to fifteen thousand men, who had to contend against sixty thousand Prussians and Austrians, together with a body of enraged emigrants, he was forced to retreat. It required all his skill to prevent the complete rout of his troops, who were seized with a panic terror. He now proceeded to occupy the camp of St. Menehould. Towards the latter end of September the important fortress of Thionville was besieged by the allies. It was gallantly defended by general Wimpfen, who, in a successful sortie, seized on the magazines and military waggons of the besiegers.

Dumourier having been joined by generals Kellermann and Beurnonville, the combined army advanced in his pursuit. His position having been reconnoitered by the king of Prussia, several columns were put in motion by the allies, for the attack of the heights of Gizancourt. Repeated skirmishes ensued, but nothing decisive was effected on either side. The combined forces were encamped within sight of the strong post occupied by Dumourier, whose army was joined by numerous bands of volunteers.

The allied troops, encamped in the sterile part of the province of Champagne, suffered so much from famine and disease, that their camp became a scene of desolation and death. The Prussian monarch, after having twice sent his adjutant-general with propositions to general Dumourier, retreated with his troops.

The French, under general Custine, having made an irruption into Germany, in a few weeks made themselves masters of Spire, Worms, Metz, and Frankfort. These events accelerated the eva-

cuation of Verdun by the Austrians. Savoy was likewise invaded by the French general Montesquiou, on whose approach Chamberri surrendered. The disputes between the French and the little Republic of Geneva were settled by a treaty which was so highly displeasing to the French government, that deputies were sent from Paris to arrest general Montesquiou, who was so fortunate as to make his escape. While this was passing, general Anselme, at the head of the army of the Var, took possession of Nice, Montalban, and Villa Franca; but having been afterwards defeated at Saspello, and forced to retreat from Castillon, he was suspected of treachery, and sent prisoner to Paris.

The duke of Saxe-Teschen, governor general of the Austrian Netherlands, having joined the army of the Imperial governor general Clairfayt, and the Austrian forces being strongly entrenched on the heights of Jemmapes, Dumourier came to a resolution to attack them. Having, early in the morning of the 6th of November, dislodged the enemy from a small village in the vicinity, the general attack was made at noon. The first stage of the Austrian redoubts having been carried, Dumourier charged the enemy's cavalry, who gave way. The second stage of redoubts was carried with great impetuosity; and the Austrians forced to retreat after a very vigorous defence. The conquest of Belgium followed this very important victory. General Clairfayt, who had now assumed the command in chief of the Austrian forces, after having spent nearly two months in retreating, took up his position on the right bank of the Rhine.

CHAPTER VIII.

Events of the French Revolution from the death of Louis XVI. *to the Treaty of Amiens.*

CHAUVELIN, the French ambassador, having received an order from the English government to quit London, the convention sent thither a negociator, Maret, who was no sooner landed at Dover, than he was obliged to re-embark, the news of the death of the king of France having already reached England. War was declared by Great Britain and Spain soon after; and their example was speedily followed by Spain and Russia.

Dumourier was ordered to invade Holland, and confided to general Miranda the siege of Maestricht. He himself laid siege to Breda, the surrender of which was followed by that of Klundert, Gertruidemberg, and Williamstadt. While he was employed in the blockade of Bergop-zoom, the British army commanded by the duke of York landed in Holland, and recovered Williamstadt from the hands of the French. The prince of Cobourg surprised the advanced posts of the French army before Maestricht, and obliged Miranda to raise the siege of that place. Dumourier was in consequence commanded to abandon his enterprise against Holland, and to concentrate all his forces so as to be enabled to oppose the prince of Cobourg. He was forced

to order a general retreat at the close of the battle of Nervinde, fought on the 18th of March, notwithstanding he had at the onset been flattered with the prospect of a complete victory. He was afterwards defeated near Louvain ; and by this victory on the part of the allies, Belgium was recovered from the French.

In proportion as Dumourier approached France, his enemies, the Jacobins of Paris, became more bitter in their hatred towards him. As he had threatened to march to the capital, to protect the Girondins, and the party headed by Danton, three commissioners were sent to sound his intentions. On his side he negociated with the Austrian generals, to secure for himself a retreat. He quitted Tournay, for the purpose of drawing nearer to France, and having broken up the camp of Maulde, took up his residence at St. Amand. His plan was to possess himself of Lille, Valenciennes, and Condé, there to proclaim the constitution of 1791, with the re-establishment of the monarchical form of government ; but in this attempt he failed. While he had thus placed himself in a very delicate and hazardous position, four conventional commissioners, accompanied by Beurnonville, the minister of war, came to his camp to notify to him that he was to repair instantly to Paris. Well knowing the fate which there awaited him, he caused the commissioners to be arrested, and delivered them up into the hands of the Austrians. They were afterwards exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. The defection of Dumourier, and of a part of his army, followed this event.

The French army was rallied, and placed under

the command of general Dampierre, who made two ineffectual attempts to force the allies to discontinue the blockade of Condé. He fell in an action which was undertaken with this view; and the prince of Saxe Cobourg remained, in a manner, a passive spectator of the discomfiture of the French army. It is thought that his inaction was occasioned by the truce he had made with Dumourier.

At the same time that these disastrous events were announced to the convention, advices were brought of the unfavourable posture of affairs in St. Domingo, and of the surrender of the island of Corsica to Great Britain. The Spaniards had invaded a part of Rousillon, with an ardour and a vigilance which were not expected from such a foe; and in la Vendée an insurrection had been kindled by the priests. The army of revolters there collected had assumed the title of the catholic army, and rallied in the name of God and the king. It was headed by the nobility, who had not emigrated there in the same degree as in the other parts of France.

In Paris a plot had been formed to murder the Girondins, as well as the greater part of the deputies who had not voted for the death of the king. This butchery was to have been carried into execution on the 9th of March, 1793, but was resisted by Danton, and several other jacobins, who considered the measure as too precipitate. They created, however, a revolutionary committee which was to effect their purpose in a more gradual way. In the mean time they declared themselves in a state of permanent insurrection against all the enemies of the republic, whatever might be their denomination. Robespierre and

Danton obtained a decree by which all the *sans culottes* were to be armed with pikes and muskets at the expense of the rich, who were themselves to be disarmed as *suspected* persons. A forced loan by which they were to be progressively taxed was superadded, together with several revolutionary taxes, which were levied in the departments, at the will of the commissioners of the convention. The *maximum* was proposed by the *commune* of Paris, but rejected until a more convenient opportunity. In the interim, the shops and warehouses of the grocers in the capital were, on the suggestion of Marat, plundered by the populace, who did not, however, take the advice of that monster, to hang up before their doors several of those whom they thus robbed with impunity. The instigator to these atrocities was denounced, and tried by a revolutionary tribunal, chiefly composed of his own creatures. The necessary consequence was that he was acquitted, and again took his seat in the assembly.

His disciple, Orleans, or, as he stiled himself, *Egalité*, was not equally fortunate. As soon as the convention learned that one of his sons had been an accomplice of Dumourier, he was arrested. His sons who were still in France were closely watched at Marseilles. The Bourbons were banished from the territory of the republic ; and the *ci-devant* duchess of Orleans confined in a fortress in Normandy.

Such were the first essays of the *mountaineers* in the convention, and of the jacobins in their club. The *commune* of Paris having, at the instigation of the execrable Hebert, declared itself in a state of *permanent* insurrection, several of the

sections followed its example. The insurrection of the 31st of May, was the inevitable result of these detestable measures; but the decisive blow was not struck until the 2d of June. On the latter day, the sections, headed by the ferocious Henriot, repaired to the convention, and by their means twenty-nine of the most virtuous and disinterested members of the convention were put under arrest. Several of them made their escape into the departments, where they found the inhabitants prepared to revolt against the tyranny of the jacobins. The city of Nantes declared in their favour, as did likewise that of Caen, where the republican general Wimpfen had his headquarters.

On the 11th of July, Marat, the execrable Marat, was assassinated by Charlotte Corday, a young lady belonging to an ancient and respectable family inhabiting Caen in Normandy. She had seen the proscribed deputies who had sought a refuge in that city, and their details inspired her with the resolution to rid the world of this odious tyrant. Having with some difficulty obtained the interview after which she so ardently longed, she found him busied in taking a bath. While she amused him in recounting the names of the fugitive deputies who were concealed in the place of her nativity, she drew her knife, and plunged it in his heart. Thus perished one of the most detestable monsters the revolution had engendered. The heroic Charlotte Corday was guillotined a few days after, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.

The new constitution was adopted towards the close of June 1793, at which time the disturbances

took place at Lyons which laid the foundation for all the horrors that were subsequently heaped on that city. Marseilles also declared against the tyranny of the jacobins, and sent a body of troops to Avignon, to proceed from thence to Lyons, to afford succour to the besieged inhabitants. They were encountered and defeated by general Cartaux, who speedily made his appearance at the gates of Marseilles. Such of the inhabitants as were royalists, or, as they were termed, federalists, were desirous to oppose his entry; but having been forced to yield to the lower classes, fled to Toulon, which had been taken possession of by the British forces. That city was abandoned by them at the close of the above year.

In la Vendée the insurrection was still more formidable than in the south. The royalists, in an unsuccessful attack on Nantes, sacrificed from three to four thousand of their best troops. Notwithstanding fifty thousand republicans were marched against them, they obtained several important victories, one of which was gained by five thousand soldiers of the *royal* and catholic army against nearly forty thousand Conventionalists.

Near the Pyrenees the republicans were equally unsuccessful. A Spanish army penetrated into the French territory, and seized the important fortress of Bellegarde, together with the port of Collioure.

Condé surrendered, in the month of July 1793, to the prince of Saxe Cobourg, after a blockade of four months. The siege of Valenciennes was preceded by the defeat of the French, whose camp

at Famars was forced by the allies. On this occasion the duke of York distinguished himself highly, at the head of the British troops. Under these circumstances, so perilous to France, general Custine was ordered to quit the army of the Rhine, and to take the command of that of the North. His camp was forced, and the surrender of Valenciennes followed. Such was the situation of France in the autumn of 1793.

The committee of public safety was established to desolate France by the most horrid butcheries and persecutions. Danton withdrew from the convention, and left all the power in the hands of Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Billand-Varennes, Couthon, and St. Just. Their first act of authority was to apprehend all suspected persons, and to try them by revolutionary committees, the powers of which were so unlimited, that they could readily seize on the four fifths of the population of France. One of their earliest victims was general Custine, whose murder was followed by that of Marie Antoinette of France, the wretched widow of Louis XVI. She had suffered during three months all the horrors of a close captivity in the prison of the Conciergerie, from whence she was led before the revolutionary tribunal. She perished on the 16th of October, 1793, having survived her husband nearly nine months.

Her death was followed by the destruction of the Girondin party, forty of whom were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and twenty others, who had fled, outlawed. In the number of those who were guillotined, was the celebrated Brisson, by whom the faction was headed. Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, was after-

a valve at the bottom, as to become filled with water on their reaching the middle of the Loire. His cruelties had the effect of drawing over many partizans to the side of Charette, the royalist general, who must have possessed very extraordinary military talents, to be enabled to carry on such a war, without money, and without fortresses, at the head of an army chiefly composed of peasants. It has been calculated that the war of la Vendée cost the French more men than had been sacrificed by the warfare with the different powers of the continent.

The city of Lyons surrendered on the 9th of October, 1793, after a long and desperate siege, during which, and the bombardment, the greatest horrors were committed by the satellites of the convention, who massacred all the fugitive Lyonnese they found without the walls. The atrocities which followed the surrender exceed all that the imagination can picture to itself of more than cannibal barbarity. It is impossible to follow Collot d'Herbois in the hellish devices to which he resorted to torture his victims. While his colleague, Couthon, affixed his mark to the houses which were to be demolished, he levied an army of cut-throats, at the head of whom was a detachment of the revolutionary army of Paris. Thousands of victims were, by his order, thrown into the prisons; but before the massacres commenced, a festival was commanded. After the temporary commission had been employed for several days and nights in pronouncing sentence of death on the wretched prisoners, its members presented themselves to Collot d'Herbois, to complain that they were as fatigued by their task, as was the

executioner who attended at the guillotine. A new mode of punishment was accordingly adopted. On the following day sixty-nine individuals, bound two and two, were escorted to the *place des Brotteaux*, to be shot. The signal having been given by Collot d'Herbois, the guns, loaded with grape shot, were discharged. Those who were not killed by the fire, were dispatched by the muskets of the soldiery, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone. This butchery was succeeded by another similar one of a hundred and eight victims, the greater part of them young men of good families, who had been purposely escorted to Lyons from the armies in which they were engaged in fighting the battles of their country. At the end of five months nearly six thousand persons had perished.

The recovery of Toulon by the French was followed by the retreat of the army commanded by the duke of York from before Dunkirk, and by the surrender of Maubeuge to the republican arms. On the other hand, not only Strasbourg, but the whole of Alsace, was exposed by a decisive victory gained in that quarter by the Imperialists.

On the 1st of June, 1794, the French fleet commanded by admiral Villaret-Joyeuse was defeated by lord Howe, who, notwithstanding he had under his command a fleet of an inferior force, captured six of the enemy's ships of the line. Another of their ships was sunk in the action, which conferred an immortal honour on the British arms by sea.

The iniquitous law of the *maximum* had rendered the situation of the capital precisely similar to

that of a town exhausted by a long siege. Before day-break the streets were filled with multitudes of distressed women and children, ranged in long files before the doors of the dealers in the different articles essential to their existence. The tradespeople considered the sale of their commodities to be tantamount to a pillage; but were forced to sacrifice their property to their personal safety. The inhabitants of the environs trembled when they brought their productions to market. The public places were deserted; and this was likewise the case with the quarters which had been formerly inhabited by the favourites of fortune. On their hotels were inscribed the words *national property*, to point out that they had been the abodes either of emigrants, or of the victims of the revolution. In the provinces the same picture of misery was exhibited.

The department of Vaucluse, having Avignon for its capital, had for four years been exposed to all the horrors and calamities of the revolution, under the domination of Jourdan, stiled the *cut-throat*. He was succeeded by another monster named Maignet, who, with a view to the exercise of an uncommon vengeance, caused the tree of liberty to be cut down at Bedouin, one of the most flourishing towns in that quarter. On this pretext, the above place was set fire to, and sixty-three of its inhabitants sentenced to perish by the guillotine. The majority of those who survived fell a prey to misery and despair.

Joseph Lebon was sent to inflict a punishment on Arras, the place of nativity of Robespierre. The revolutionary commission which was there established performed its hellish functions with

such a rapidity, that in a few days there was not to be found a single house in the most spacious street of the above city, belonging to which several individuals had not been guillotined. Nearly nine hundred persons perished in the presence of this monster, who was seated in a balcony during the executions.

Among the magistrates who were immolated, was the respectable and virtuous Malesherbes, the intrepid defender of Louis XVI. Forty-five members of the ancient parliament of Paris, thirty-three belonging to that of Thoulouse, thirty farmers general, and twenty-five of the most opulent merchants of Sedan, perished about the same time. Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the unfortunate Louis, was brought to trial at the instigation of Billaud de Varennes. She was sentenced to suffer death by the guillotine, notwithstanding it was impossible to substantiate a single charge against this virtuous and exemplary female. The executions were now multiplied to such a degree, that eighty persons were frequently conveyed to the place of execution in the same vehicle. To cite the names of all the illustrious victims who fell, would far exceed our limits, and would at the same time present too horrid a picture of human depravity.

Three weeks before the event which was to deliver France from the most atrocious of tyrannies, Robespierre absented himself from the committee of public safety. The storm which hovered over his head, had left him no other partizans than his execrable associates, Couthon and St. Just. The members of the convention who had hitherto been on his side, and had supported him in all

his sanguinary proceedings, were for the greater part decidedly against him, and were consequently marked out for his vengeance. At length, on the 26th of July 1794, Robespierre appeared at the convention, and made a speech in which he announced the speedy destruction of all those who were obnoxious to his measures. This speech was the signal of a general insurrection against him. On a proposition being made that it should be printed and sent into the departments, a violent opposition ensued, in the course of which the tyrant was called on to name the members whom he accused. On the morning of the memorable 27th of July, Saint Just, in his endeavours to vindicate Robespierre, was interrupted by Tallien, who, to put an end to the divisions that subsisted in the assembly, demanded that the mysterious veil which covered the conspiracy of Robespierre should be entirely removed. He declared that he had, on the preceding day, been present at the debates in the jacobin club; that he shuddered for his country; that he had witnessed the formation of the army of the new Cromwell; and that he had provided himself with a poignard to terminate his own existence, in case the convention should not have the courage to pronounce a decree of accusation against Robespierre. He demanded that the sitting should be permanent; and that Henriot, the commandant of the armed force of Paris, should, as well as his staff, be put under arrest. This proposition was decreed, together with the arrest of the commandant and principal officers of the national guard. Tallien now drew the attention of the assembly to the speech made by Robespierre on the preceding day,

and repeated by him in the evening at the jacobin club. Luchet, one of the members, demanded that he should be instantly arrested; and a decree of arrest was accordingly passed against him, his young brother, and his accomplices, Couthon, St. Just, and Le Bas. They were ordered to withdraw, and the meeting dissolved.

At seven in the evening the sitting was resumed, and the members of the municipality and department of Paris ordered to the bar. The arrest of Fleuriot-Lescot, the mayor of Paris, having been decreed, the president announced that the jacobins had invested and taken possession of the committee of public safety. One of the members stated that Henriot had effected his escape, and was paraded by the populace in triumph. Another brought the news that Robespierre had been conducted by his partizans to the commune house, and had been well received by the municipal officers. They were, as well as Henriot, outlawed, and Barras appointed to the command of the national guard. The barriers of Paris having been shut, and other precautionary measures taken, it was announced that Robespierre and all his accomplices had effected their escape. They were declared to be in a state of outlawry. The different sections of Paris took the oaths of allegiance to the convention.

The door of the commune house, where the conspirators were assembled, having been forced open, Robespierre attempted to destroy himself with a pistol, the discharge of which fractured his jaw. Le Bas blew out his brains; and Couthon, who had sought refuge beneath a table, stabbed himself with a knife, but not mortally. The

younger Robespierre threw himself out of a window, and received several fractures. Henriot was thrown out of another window by Coffinhal, another of the conspirators; and was found in a most dreadful state, but still alive. All the members of the commune were arrested.

Sentence of death was pronounced on the conspirators on the afternoon of the following day. They were conveyed to execution surrounded by a populace intoxicated with joy. Never did a culprit suffer greater torments than those endured by Robespierre. On the two succeeding days eighty-three of his accomplices, chiefly members of the commune of Paris, were executed.

In the month of March 1794, the armies were more powerful than any Europe had ever witnessed on any former occasion. France alone, without allies, had levied upwards of a million of fighting men. Pichegru commanded the army of the north, and Jourdan that of the Sambre and Meuse. On the other hand, the emperor had visited the scene of war in person, to animate his troops. The prince of Saxe Cobourg had repaired the fortifications of Valenciennes, and had thrown up considerable works near Courtrai, and Menin. The protection of that part of maritime Flanders was confided to General Clayrfait; and, at a still greater distance, the duke of York made incursions round Lille. The Dutch, under the command of the hereditary prince of Orange, protected the banks of the Sambre, another point relative to which the prince of Saxe Cobourg entertained well-founded alarms.

The Austrians commenced the campaign by the investiture of Landrecies, the siege of which was carried on with so much activity, that the place

surrendered at the expiration of ten days after the trenches had been opened. This was the fourth fortified place which the Austrians had conquered on the French territory. While they flattered themselves that the acquisition of two or three victories would conduct them to the capital, they were kept on the defensive by the republican troops, whose attacks were so concerted, that the Imperialists could with difficulty discern the point from which they were directed. On the 26th of April the French entered Courtrai, and menaced Menin, to the succour of which Clayrfait marched. He was defeated; but returned a few days after to the attack of Courtrai, in front of which he threw up several commanding batteries. The republican troops made a sortie, and charged the enemy with so much impetuosity, that they dislodged them from their advanced posts. Clayrfait was thus obliged to retreat a second time, and demanded reinforcements to disengage West Flanders from an incursion which would expose a great part of the Austrian army. The aulic council was thus forced to defer the execution of the plan of an offensive campaign, and eventually to renounce it altogether. The French were thrice repulsed in their attempts to cross the Sambre; but were more successful in the passage of the Maese. In short, the events of each day evinced the efficacy of the plan of the French council of war, presided by Carnot, to keep the Austrian army blocked up in its new conquests, and between the four fortresses by which they were protected.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg resolved to make a great effort to disengage West Flanders, and shifted his head quarters to Tournay. The army

commanded by general Clayrfait was augmented to twenty-five thousand men; and that under the command of the duke of York, by whom he was to be seconded, was still superior in point of numbers. The prince of Cobourg, who waited the success of their combined operations, covered Tournay with the flower of the Austrian army. Such powerful forces enabled the Austrian army to resume the offensive operations, with a strong persuasion that the body of French troops which occupied Courtrai, and the one which invested Menin, would be forced to lay down their arms.

The duke of York set out from before Courtrai on the 17th of May, and took possession of all the posts to the right extending from Lille to that place. General Clayrfait crossed the Lys at Werwick and Commines. Pichegru, who was aware of these movements, prevented the junction of the two armies, and kept up a communication with Courtrai by skillful manœuvres. He put himself at the head of the detachments of troops which had retreated towards Lille, and marched against the duke of York. The British and Hanoverians maintained their positions for a considerable time, but were at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to retreat, which they did with great regularity. All their artillery and camp equipage fell into the hands of the French; and two thousand of their troops were made prisoners. The duke of York retreated with his army to Tournay. General Clayrfait crossed the Lys, and returned to the position he had before occupied on the heights of Thielt, whence he was enabled to menace Courtrai, and to protect Ypres.

The French, under general Pichegru, were repulsed with great loss in an attempt to take Tournay by assault. Clayrfait having quitted the position he occupied, the French general Souham marched towards Ypres, and gave him battle. The Imperialists were defeated, with the loss of their camp equipage, and Ypres capitulated soon after. West Flanders was thus open to the Republicans, but was not the scene where the decisive blows of the campaign were struck.

When it was opened, the movements of the army, commanded by general Jourdan, did not appear to have been concerted with those of Pichegru. After two indecisive actions near Arlon, general Beaulieu, who had been opposed to Jourdan, pushed on to Charleroi, the siege of which he raised. The latter general, having left behind him strong garrisons, set out with an army of thirty thousand men, and, after a very rapid and difficult march, was met by the prince of Saxe Cobourg. Two actions were fought on the banks of the Sambre, the result of the first of which obliged general Jourdan to recross that river after having sustained a considerable loss. After the second, Charleroi was invested by the French, and surrendered on the 25th of June. The memorable battle of Fleurus was fought on the following day.

The Austrian army was commanded by the prince of Cobourg, the right being led by the prince of Orange, the left by general Beaulieu, and the centre by the prince of Lambesc. It had been reinforced by the garrisons of Valenciennes, Landrecy, and Quesnoy, and was about ninety thousand strong. Jourdan's army was

still superior in point of numbers, and had a very formidable and well-served train of artillery. The cavalry of the allies had, however, a manifest advantage over that of the French.

General Jourdan attacked the enemy before day-break, but his troops were thrice driven from before the trenches with great losses. After having continued their efforts for nine hours, the French retreated with order and regularity. Jourdan had, however, powerful resources in reserve for a fourth attack. At six in the evening he advanced with the flying artillery, and the troops that had not hitherto been engaged. He ordered a charge to be made throughout the whole extent of the line. It was executed with so much impetuosity, that the left wing of the allies was broken. The prince of Cobourg ordered a retreat, which was conducted with great ability. The second conquest of Belgium by the French was the result of this battle. Valenciennes, Condé, Quesnoy, and Landrecies, capitulated, after a slight resistance made by the Austrian commandants. Luxembourg also surrendered to the French.

A scarcity in Paris, in March 1795, was followed by several acts of just severity against the jacobins. Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois were transported to Guaiane, and seventeen other deputies imprisoned. The capital continued in an agitated state, until at length, on the 20th of May, the mob which had been collected in the suburb of St. Antoine, broke out in open insurrection, and repaired to the convention, to demand bread and the constitution of 1793. They murdered one of the representatives, Feraud, and

took possession of the hall, where they formed themselves into a national assembly, and enacted several jacobinical and revolutionary measures. They were, however, subdued, and their leaders brought to condign punishment.

On the 15th of July the emigrants were defeated after an unsuccessful attempt to gain a footing at Quiberon. They had obtained possession of a fort, from which they were driven by the republican troops. Many of the royalists effected their escape; but the gallant count de Sombreuil perished at the head of many others. Tallien presided at their execution.

A peace was signed with Spain in the month of July, from which time nothing particular occurred until the 5th of October, when an attack was made on the convention by the jacobins. A desperate contest ensued, which lasted for several hours, until at length the rebels were mastered by Barras, who had the command of the armed force of Paris.

On the 26th of the above month the convention was dissolved, and replaced by five directors, with a council of five hundred, and a council of elders. The following are the names of the members who composed the directory: Barras, Rewbell, Revelliere-Lepaux, Letourneur, and Carnot.

Treaties of peace had been signed in the spring of the above year, between France on the one hand, and Prussia and Tuscany on the other. Sweden and the electorate of Hanover followed the example of the above powers. The French were thus enabled to make more powerful efforts in Germany, where they had two strong armies. They took Dusseldorf by assault, and laid siege to Mentz. Berg and Manheim soon after fell into

their hands. General Pichegru being, however, unable to second the efforts of Jourdan, the siege of Mentz was raised; and the latter of these generals forced to cross the Rhine. Manheim fell into the hands of the Imperialists, and an armistice of three months was agreed on between the contending generals.

In Italy the hostilities were renewed very late in the season. The battles of Loano and Garesio were unfavourable to the French, who, after a loss of eight thousand men in killed and prisoners, were forced to retreat towards Savona. However, the Imperial general De Vins being unable to obtain possession of the fortress of Savona, on account of the refusal of the Genoese to allow him a passage through their territory, was forced to retreat, and to allow the French to possess themselves of several fortified places, as well as of the magazines he had collected.

In the West Indies the events of the war were, in 1795, favourable to France. During the preceding campaign, Guadaloupe, and Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo, had fallen into the hands of the English. The former place was afterwards taken possession of by Victor Hughes, who fomented an insurrection in one of the British colonies, Grenada. He likewise succeeded in recapturing the island of St. Lucie, which had been wrested from the French.

A treaty of alliance having been entered into in the summer of the above year, between France and Holland, Great Britain declared war against the latter nation, and planned an attack on its settlements. An expedition was accordingly sent against the island of Ceylon; and forts Trincomale and Oosterberg, in that island, surrendered to the

British arms. The capture of Manar and Malacca followed. In the month of September, the important settlement of the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of the English.

In the Mediterranean the British admiral, Hotham, captured two French ships of the line, notwithstanding the superiority, in point of numbers, of the French squadron he attacked. Another British admiral, Cornwallis, with only five ships of the line, and two frigates, maintained a running fight in the channel, against thirteen French ships of the line, and a considerable number of frigates. Such was the gallantry of his conduct, that he obliged the enemy, so superior to him in force, to tack, and give up the pursuit. Three French ships of the line were captured a few days after by admiral Lord Bridport.

In the campaign of 1796, in Italy, the French troops were led by Bonaparte. The Imperialists, under general Beaulieu, attacked the important post of Voltri, which they carried; but were repulsed at Montenotte, where two thousand of their troops were made prisoners by the French. The battles of Milessimo and Dego were still more fatal to them. They lost fifteen thousand men in killed and prisoners, together with the greater part of their baggage and magazines. To retrieve his fallen reputation, the Austrian general, Beaulieu, carried the village of Dego by a sudden and intrepid charge; but was driven from thence by the superior fortune of Bonaparte. The Sardinian troops, commanded by general Provero, having met with repeated defeats, the king of Sardinia was reduced to the necessity of concluding a very disadvantageous peace with the French.

Bonaparte having crossed the Po, defeated the Imperialists in two engagements, and forced the Italian states to sue for peace. The memorable battle of Lodi followed, and was won by the French after immense difficulties. In their attempt to cross the bridge, the greater part of their grenadiers were mowed down by the cross fire of the Austrians; but they at length made their passage good. The brave but unfortunate Beaulieu, after the discomfiture of his troops, threw himself into Mantua. That place was, after several actions of less moment, blockaded by the French. It would be needless to recount all their exploits and successes during the above campaign. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the general result, namely, that a revolutionary spirit was disseminated throughout every part of Italy; and the Cispadane and Transpadane republics established on the ruins of the Austrian government in that territory.

In Germany, the French arms were not equally successful, notwithstanding they obtained some advantages at the commencement of the campaign. Generals Moreau and Jourdan having crossed the Rhine, the Imperialists were overpowered in three different actions, the result of which enabled Moreau to take possession of Frankfort, and to over-run with his troops the whole of Franconia. Having afterwards entered Stuttgard and Munich, and formed a junction with Jourdan's army, the French troops penetrated into the centre of Germany. They were impeded in their progress by the Archduke Charles, who had received considerable supplies of men and artillery, and who brought to action the army of Jourdan in the vicinity of Teming.

The victory obtained by the Imperialists on that occasion was followed by another near Wurtzbourg; and Jourdan was forced to retreat towards Dusseldorf, with the scattered remnants of his army.

The celebrated retreat of Moreau followed these events, and was conducted in a masterly stile, which confers more credit on him than he would have acquired by repeated victories. He gained several in his retrograde march; but was so closely followed up by the gallant Archduke, that at the close of the campaign the French possessed but one post on the right bank of the Rhine.

In the course of the above year, the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, were taken possession of by Great Britain. The French island of St. Lucie was surrendered to that power in the month of May; and soon after those of St. Vincent and Grenada fell into the same hands.

The Dutch made an ineffectual attempt to capture the Cape of Good Hope, and for this purpose sent out a squadron of two sail of the line, a ship of fifty-four guns, another of forty-four, and four other vessels of inferior force. This fleet anchored in Saldannah bay, where it surrendered, without any opposition, to the British fleet, commanded by admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone. The capture of forts Negombo and Columbo, soon after put the English in possession of all the Dutch portion of the island of Ceylon. The Dutch possessions of Amboyna and Banda likewise surrendered to Great Britain.

Sir Gilbert Elliott, the viceroy of Corsica, per-

ceiving that the greater part of the Italian ports were shut against Great Britain, the commerce of which necessarily suffered in proportion, projected an attack against the island of Elba. The town of Porto Ferrajo surrendered by capitulation in the month of July; and the whole of the island passed under the domination of Great Britain.

In the month of October the island of Corsica was evacuated by the British forces, who had not only to contend against a French detachment of troops sent from Leghorn, but against the natives, who were resolved on being again united with France.

An expedition under general Hoche sailed for Ireland in two divisions, one of which was obliged, by stress of weather, to return to Rochelle, with the loss of one of the ships, the Scevola, which foundered. The second division, consisting of eight two-deckers, reached Bantry Bay, where it remained for three days, but was at length driven off the coast of Ireland in a gale of wind. By this disastrous expedition, the French lost no less than three ships of the line, and three frigates, without the smallest prospect of effecting the purpose on which they were bent, that of effecting a disunion between Great Britain and Ireland.

In the Italian campaign of 1797, the Imperialists were the first to attack, but were defeated on the heights of San Marco, and at Rivoli, where four thousand of them were obliged to lay down their arms. These events were followed by the surrender of the Austrian detachment commanded by general Provera. This disaster led to the entire defeat of the army commanded

by the Imperial general Alvinzi. The city of Mantua, after a long and obstinate siege, fell into the hands of the French, who carried the war into the papal territory, which was speedily subjugated. By the treaty of Tolentino, which followed, Pope Pius VI. renounced all claim to Avignon and the county Venaissin, relinquished the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and surrendered, besides, the statues and pictures, the possession of which had given so high a celebrity to Rome.

The archduke Charles having been appointed to the chief command, the Austrians again took the field; but retreated as soon as the French troops were put in motion. The latter crossed the Tagliamento, and brought the enemy to action at Cainia. The battle terminated in the defeat of the Imperialists, who fled, and left behind them a portion of their baggage and artillery. In the interim, the French general, Joubert, obtained two victories over the Austrians, and secured their immense magazines at Brixen. The capture of Gradisca, by general Bernadotte, rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea. The Austrians were again defeated at Tarvis, and made overtures of peace, which were followed by a suspension of arms for nine days. The treaty of Leoben followed, by which it was stipulated, that the Emperor should renounce, in perpetuity, his right to the Austrian Netherlands, and should acknowledge the Cisalpine republic. It was settled that the Rhine, the common boundary between the two nations, should be freely navigated by the French.

The campaign in Germany was successfully prosecuted by the French, until the news arrived of the treaty of Leoben, which produced a suspension of arms between the respective commanders.

The republic of Venice having been hostile to the French, General Augereau, at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand republicans, took possession of the city of Venice, and seized on the forts and arsenal. By the treaty of Campo Formio, signed by the Emperor and the French republic in the month of October following, that city, with its continental possessions, together with the islands of Istria and Dalmatia, and the Adriatic isles, fell to the lot of Austria; while the French reserved to themselves the islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and a part of Albania.

The British admiral Sir John Jervis, who had for some time blockaded Cadiz with fifteen ships of the line, brought to action off Cape St. Vincent a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, commanded by admiral don Joseph de Cordova, and, with so very inferior a force, obtained a most brilliant victory, from which resulted the capture of two Spanish ships of a hundred and twelve guns each, and two others of eighty-four guns.

The Dutch fleet under admiral de Winter having put to sea from the Texel, was encountered by the British admiral Duncan, on the 11th of October, off Camperdown. The British fleet was composed of seven ships of seventy-four guns each, of seven of sixty-four guns, and of one fifty gun ship. The Dutch fleet consisted of four

ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight guns; two of sixty-four; two of fifty-six; two of fifty-four, and two of forty-four; besides eight frigates and smaller vessels. The Dutch admiral was opposed to the British admiral's ship, and fought with great gallantry for upwards of two hours. He was well supported by a part of his fleet, but deserted, in the midst of the conflict, by rear admiral Storey, who commanded the centre. His ship, the Vryheid, struck to admiral Duncan; that of the Dutch vice-admiral, to the English admiral Onslow; and, besides these, two flag ships; three others of sixty-eight guns; two of sixty-four; two of fifty-six; and two others of an inferior force, fell into the hands of the British commander.

In the months of June and July Cadiz was twice bombarded by a British squadron commanded by rear-admiral Nelson. This operation had a considerable effect on the city, and was also calculated to annoy the shipping; but did not lead to any decisive result.

Several expeditions were undertaken by Great Britain against the colonies of France and Spain. The island of Trinidad, belonging to the latter power, capitulated in the month of February, and has since been in possession of the English. The attempts against Porto Rico and Teneriffe failed of success.

The English ministry made another attempt to negociate, and for that purpose Lord Malmsbury was again appointed ambassador. As this measure was not attended by the wished for result, a declaration was published by his Britannic majesty, in which the obstacles constantly opposed

by the government of France to a reconciliation were energetically pointed out.

The plan of the conquest of St. Domingo was abandoned by the British, in consequence of the impracticability of throwing in sufficient supplies of men to combat, not only the French troops on that island, but also the numerous bodies of negroes who had taken up arms, and were led on by their gallant countryman, Toussaint Louverture.

The congress of Rastadt assembled on the 1st of January 1798, to settle the disputes between France and the Germanic empire. While the discussions were spun out to an immoderate length, an event occurred in Italy which endangered the safety and very existence of the See of Rome. Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador in the Papal capital, had long fomented disturbances among the populace, who at length became so mutinous and rebellious to the government, that the Papal troops were ordered to act against them. They were assembled in great numbers in front of the palace of the French ambassador; and in a struggle between them and the military, a French general, Duphot, was slain. On this pretext general Berthier invaded the Roman territory, which he entered with a formidable army. The castle of St. Angelo, in which the pope and the majority of the cardinals had sought shelter, surrendered on the first summon; and the tree of liberty was planted by the populace in front of the capital. The Roman republic having been proclaimed, the French general Berthier made his public entry into the city.

The Egyptian expedition having been planned

by Bonaparte, with the consent of the French directory, the armament sailed from Toulon on the 20th of May, 1798. Nearly forty thousand veteran troops had been embarked, together with an immense quantity of ammunition and military stores. The first enterprise was an attack upon the island of Malta, which surrendered on the 12th of June, after a feeble opposition. It was indeed rather won by treachery, than by force. On the 30th of the above month the French fleet anchored off Alexandria. The troops having been landed, that place was carried by a siege, with but a trifling loss on the part of the French. After several actions, in which the Mamelukes and their followers were constantly defeated, Bonaparte made his entry into Grand Cairo, which opened its gates.

The naval action of Aboukir, so glorious to the British arms, was fought on the 1st of August of the above year. Admiral Bruix, who commanded the fleet employed to convoy the French troops to Egypt, lay at anchor off Aboukir, with thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates. The fleet commanded by the British admiral, Sir Horatio Nelson, consisted also of thirteen ships of the line, and a ship of fifty guns. The superiority in point of metal was on the side of the French, they having one ship of a hundred and twenty guns, and three of eighty, while all the British line of battle ships were of seventy-four guns each. Notwithstanding the French fleet was anchored as near the shoals as possible, the British admiral, by a bold manœuvre, brought his ships, with the exception of one which got aground, between the enemy's vessels and the land.

The action commenced at sun-set, and was fought with unabating fury until nine in the evening, when the Orient of a hundred and twenty guns, commanded by the French admiral Bruix, caught fire and blew up with a terrible explosion. The action was not suspended until noon of the succeeding day, when the victory was completely in favour of the British, who captured two ships of eighty guns, and seven seventy-four gun ships. Another French ship of seventy-four guns was burned. Thus terminated the ever-memorable battle of Aboukir!

It was followed by a new confederacy against France, on which, and the subsequent operations, it had a marked influence.

The Turks declared war against the French republic in the month of September; and the emperor of Russia, with the same view, made formidable preparations both by sea and land. The Neapolitan troops entered the Papal territory in November, to attack the French; but were defeated at Civita Castellana by the republican general Rampionet, who forced them to evacuate Rome, of which they had taken possession. The king of Sardinia, by whom the confederacy had been joined, was reduced to the humiliating necessity of abdicating his throne, on which condition alone he could avoid being sent prisoner into France.

A formidable rebellion having broken out in Ireland, the French general Humbert landed in Killala bay, distant from Dublin about a hundred and twenty miles, at the head of about nine hundred men. Notwithstanding the allurements held out to them by the new doctrine of liberty and equality, he could prevail on but few of the pea-

santry to join his standard. With the feeble reinforcements he could collect, he marched to Castlebar, where he obtained an advantage over the troops sent to oppose his progress. He now advanced towards Tuam, but was met at Ballinamuck by a column of British troops commanded by lieutenant-colonel Crawford. After a short but spirited contest, his detachment surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The rebellion was shortly after subdued.

An expedition having been planned by Great Britain for the destruction of the canal of Bruges, major-general Coote was charged with this enterprise, and effected a landing near Ostend. He succeeded in burning several boats, and destroying the sluice gates; but the troops under his command having, by stress of weather, been prevented from re-embarking, were forced to yield to the superior numbers of the French who had been collected, and were made prisoners. The British expedition against Minorca was more successful. General Stuart, with a small force of eight hundred men, obtained possession of that island, which contained a triple force of Spaniards. Another French expedition against Ireland, was intercepted; and the Hoche of eighty guns captured by a British squadron.

At the commencement of 1799 the French took possession of Naples, which was declared a republic; and about the same time a revolution was effected in the little republic of Lucca, which abolished the aristocracy, and assumed a popular form of government. In Germany the campaign was opened by the defeat of the French general Jourdan. A treaty having been entered into

between Great Britain and Russia, the troops of the latter nation took the field. The dissolution of the congress, of Rastadt was marked by the assassination of two of the French ministers. A strange mystery still hangs over that event.

In their progress in Italy the French made themselves masters of Tuscany; but were checked in their career by the Imperialists, who obtained an advantage over them in two actions at Verona. The Russian general, Suwarrow, was so successful in his operations, that the allies were enabled to enter Milan. The French now evacuated the Roman and Neapolitan territories. The disasters which had befallen their generals Moreau and M'Donald, brought about a counter revolution in Tuscany, which abolished its democratic form of government. Modena was captured by the French, who were attacked and defeated by the allies in three actions on the banks of the Trebbia. In consequence of these defeats Turin and Bologna fell into the hands of the allies. The surrender of the French garrisons of Alexandria and Mantua followed.

In the month of August Holland was invaded by an Anglo-Russian army. The first expedition sent thither was commanded by the gallant Abercrombie, and was no sooner landed than the Dutch evacuated the Helder. Nine ships of war, and three Indiamen, lying at anchor, surrendered to the British admiral Mitchell. The British and Russian troops, who had penetrated into the country, were attacked a few days after by the combined forces of France and Holland, whom they repulsed. The second expedition, commanded by his royal highness the duke of York, reached

Holland about the middle of September. After several actions which were fought with doubtful success, the country being found to be no longer tenable, and the invading army having been disappointed in its expectations of being joined by the majority of the Dutch, a negociation was entered into by the French general Brune, in consequence of which the combined English and Russian army evacuated the Batavian territory.

Bonaparte, who, after the subjugation of Egypt, had penetrated into Syria, was checked in his victorious career by the memorable defence of St. Jean d'Acre, to which he laid siege. His failure on this occasion was chiefly ascribable to the support afforded to the besieged by Sir Sydney Smith, and to the intrepidity of a few British who had been landed from the fleet. The return of Bonaparte to France soon followed this miscarriage. Before we speak of the revolution he effected there, it will be necessary to touch on the operations of the British in different quarters. The capture of Seringapatam, in the East-Indies, was followed by the surrender of the Dutch settlement of Surinam, which was atchieved without a single gun being fired. In several naval actions Great Britain still manifested her superiority on the ocean.

The conduct of the directorial government of France had been marked from its earliest establishment by a system of rapine and fraud which had brought France to the eve of a civil war. The forced loan and the iniquitous law which seized on the persons, and confiscated the property of the relations of emigrants, had completed the wretchedness of the subjugated French, when a

sudden revolution effected by Bonaparte on the 9th of November, 1799, overturned the directory, and set up the consular government, at the head of which the above general was placed. His first measure was an ineffectual attempt to treat with Great Britain. In the pacification of la Vendée he was more successful. Relatively to Egypt, the treaty of El Arisch, by which the French consented to evacuate that country, was not acceded to by the British minister.

The difficult passage of the French army of reserve, commanded by the first consul Bonaparte, over the mountain St. Bernard, was followed by the entry of the French into Milan, and by the re-establishment of the Cisalpine republic. This event leads us to the memorable battle of Marengo, which procured a peace to the European continent. The Austrian general Melas had disputed the field against the French with a most obstinate courage, and had thrice forced them to fall back and retreat, when general Desaix came up and decided the battle in favour of the republicans. This valorous officer was slain. By the armistice in Italy, which was concluded two days after, a considerable number of fortresses were delivered up to the French. The definitive treaty of peace between Austria and France was concluded on the 9th of February, 1801.

In the month of May, 1800, Genoa was bombarded by a British fleet. The fort and island of Goree surrendered about the same time to a small British squadron; and in the month of September the island of Malta passed under the domination of Great Britain. Two expeditions to the coast of Spain, one against Ferrol, the other against Cadiz, terminated unsuccessfully.

A convention for an armed neutrality, directed against Great Britain, was entered into by Russia and Sweden; and afterwards acceded to by Prussia and Denmark. In return an embargo was laid at the close of the month of January 1801, on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish ships in the ports of Great Britain. To exclude the British vessels from the navigation of the Elbe, the Danes resorted to the measure of the temporary possession of Hamburgh, at the same time that the Prussians seized on Hanover. These hostile proceedings gave rise to the battle off Copenhagen, in which the British Admiral Lord Nelson made a vigorous attack on the Danish line of defence. The action was continued with unabated severity for four hours, until at length the British admiral, to spare the further effusion of blood, proposed an armistice, which was acceded to by the Danes. The Swedes next seceded from the northern alliance; and shortly after a convention was signed between Great Britain and Russia.

War was proclaimed by Spain against Portugal in the month of February 1801; and in the month of April following, a Spanish army, headed by the prince of peace, invaded the Portuguese territory. By the treaty of peace which followed between the two powers in June, Spain obtained the province of Olivenza. Portugal shortly after made her peace with France. Her example was followed by the king of Naples.

The British expedition against Egypt reached its destination at the commencement of March; and a part of the reserve, commanded by major-general Moore, landed on the 8th of that month. The whole of the army having been afterwards

landed, moved forward on the 12th; and on the following day the French were brought to action, and forced to retreat. The castle of Aboukir surrendered to the British on the 18th; and on the 21st was fought the ever-memorable battle which gave a new lustre to the British arms. Our circumscribed limits will not allow us to enter into the details of this action, which terminated in the defeat and discomfiture of the French. The gallant veteran Sir Ralph Abercrombie, commander in chief of the British forces, fell. The loss of the French has been calculated at three thousand men, with many of their principal officers. That of the British amounted to about thirteen hundred, in killed, wounded, and missing. The capture of several inferior posts was followed by the surrender of the cities of Cairo and Alexandria to the latter; and these successes led to the evacuation of Egypt by the French.

The above event, and the successes of Great Britain in the naval campaign of 1801, led to the negociations for peace between that power and France. By the definitive treaty of Amiens, which was signed on the 27th of March 1802, Great Britain ceded all the possessions and colonies she had acquired during the war, with the exception of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The result of the aggrandisement of France, and of the immoderate ambition which sways those by whom she is at present governed, it will be the task of future historians to describe.

NAVARRE.

THE Navarri, or inhabitants of Navarre, are a people of considerable antiquity, but the origin of their name is lost in doubt and obscurity. Navarre lies between Gascony, Bigorre, Arragon, Castile, and Biscay, and comprehends the Pyrenees within its boundaries. Enjoying an excellent climate and a salubrious air, it produces a sufficiency of corn for the subsistence of its inhabitants, some choice fruits, and delicious wine. The rivers, though not large, furnish excellent fish, and the mountains are covered with beautiful woods, which shelter abundance of game.

The inhabitants are characterised as a manly, well-proportioned, and valiant race, jealous of their privileges, and attached to their ancient customs. Often has their blood flowed in repelling the aggression of their neighbours, or in settling intestine broils. Against the Moors they long exerted themselves with intrepid resolution; and their conflicts with that ferocious people first taught them, it seems, to submit to something like a regular government for the general protection.

About the year 758 of the Christian æra, died a pious hermit, named John, who having retired from the world with four disciples, erected a

chapel in honour of St. John the Baptist, on a mountain near the city of Jacca. The fame of his sanctity being widely spread, his funeral obsequies were graced with a numerous assemblage of the people, among whom were no fewer than six hundred gentlemen. Whether they resorted thither through religious zeal, or whether the meeting was concerted by some who foresaw that a popular assembly might be easily converted to forward their own views, is unknown; but certain it is, that the chief men of the country, taking this opportunity to descant on their common sufferings, from the rage and cruelty of the Moors, and to point out the glory and happiness that would arise from throwing off their yoke, the Navarri by one consent, elected a gentleman named don Garcia Ximenes, of the ancient blood of Spain, to be their chief; who, eager to prove himself worthy of their partiality, led them against the Saracen infidels, and defeating them on several occasions, wrested Ainsa from their hands.

A. D. 758.

On the demise of this prince, his son don Garcia Inigas obtained the sceptre, which he swayed with vigour and prudence. He extended his territories as far as Biscay, received homage from the court of Arragon, and at his death left his dominions to his son don Fortuno Garcia, who has been highly celebrated both for his valour and his virtues. He was present in the famous battle of Roncevaux, in which Charlemagne was defeated, and in which his brother-in-law Aznar count of Arragon lost his life. Don Fortuno is said to have been at last slain in a battle which he fought with the Moors, and to have been suc-

A. D. 802.

ceeded by his son don Ximenes Garcia, in whom the original line became extinct, and an interregnum ensued, during which that famous code, entitled "The Laws of Sobrarva" was formed.

Charlemagne having finally made great progress on the side of Spain, according to the custom of the times, appointed counts in all the considerable places which he had reduced; but one of them, named Aznar, having revolted from his descendant Pepin king of Aquitaine, seized on the almost impenetrable mountains which form the frontier of Spain towards France; and at last entering into a compromise with his sovereign, died in his cause. A. D. 837.

Count Sancho, the brother of the deceased, with a nominal subjection to the heirs of Charlemagne, extended his territories in such a manner as to unite part of Arragon and Navarre to Sobrarva; but the precise limits of his government or the place of his residence have not been recorded. He appears to have been a prince of some abilities, but at the time of his death, his principality was in the utmost danger of being overwhelmed by the power of Charles the Bold.

Don Garcia Sanchez succeeded his father in the flower of his age, and at a time when his reputation for courage and conduct was fully established. Observing that the Moors were too much embarrassed to interrupt him, he devoted his time and attention to secure and to adorn his kingdom. With this view, he erected several fortifications, repaired some towns, and built others; and extending A. D. 925.

his dominions rather by wisdom than force, arrived at a good old age, with the love and esteem of his people.

His son, don Sancho Abarca, possessed abilities equal to his rank and to that conjuncture of affairs when he was raised to the throne. Soon after his accession, the Moors invaded some of the neighbouring provinces, and the king of Navarre, perceiving that he was indirectly attacked, entered into their defence with animation, and defeated the aggressors with great slaughter. The war, however, continued for many years under Almançor, vizier to the king of Cordova, who was a most inveterate enemy to the Christian name, and who, after exercising the most barbarous cruelties on the people of Castile, Leon, and Catalonia, advanced against Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. From the excellent dispositions the king had made here, the infidels met with the first decisive check; and were finally obliged to retire within their former bounds. The Christian princes, henceforth, sensible of the advantages of unanimity against the common foe, generally made a common cause, which gradually tended to the downfall of the Moorish power in Spain.

A. D. 994. After reigning twenty-four years, this Christian defender sunk into the grave, and was succeeded by his son don Garcia Sanchez III. surnamed "the Quaker," from a violent shaking with which he is said to have been seized before the commencement of an action. This, however, appears to have been purely a nervous affection, arising from a hurry of spirits, for no man was less susceptible of fear whenever the engagement grew warm. In

conjunction with his allies, he gave the Moors under Almançor several signal overthrows; and by raising the courage of the Christians, abated the fierce and fiery spirits of their enemies.

But whatever praise may be due to this prince as a warrior and a politician, historians are much divided in regard to his general temper and conduct as a governor. It seems, however, that he was liberal to excess, and that, smitten with the religious zeal of his time, he founded several abbies. He entrusted the education of his son don Sancho to an abbot of the monastery of St. Salvador, who took care to infuse into his pupil, not only principles of religion, but maxims of good sense and honour, which he afterwards successfully applied as a king, and which gained him the appellation of "the Great."

He began his reign by entering into a close alliance with the house of Castile, which contributed not a little to his interest and his glory. He next swept the vallies of Sobrarva and Ribagorça of the infidels, in which enterprises he met with the most zealous assistance from the aboriginal inhabitants. A. D. 1001.

Having thus secured his dominions from external foes, he set about regulating their internal concerns. He began with reforming the monks, or rather the professors of religion in general; and by introducing some pious and learned men from other countries, he added the force of their example to the influence of his own endeavours.

By the murder of the last heir male of the house of Castile, he became legally entitled to that fine country, in right of his wife, of which he accordingly took possession, and regulated its monaste-

ries on the same principle he had done those of his hereditary dominions.

Being now advanced in years, he was desirous of seeing the four princes, his sons, established in his life-time; and to effectuate this design so near his heart, he pursued a plan, which, though justice warranted, policy revolts from, and wisdom disclaims. Those accessions which he had made to his kingdom, he frittered down again, by dividing them into equal portions among his heirs; and thus instead of promoting their happiness he laid the foundation of the most deadly feuds among them.

A. D. 1034.

In consequence of their father's impolicy, don Garcia of Navarre perished in a battle against don Ferdinand of Castile, his brother; and don Sancho IV. son to don Garcia, was assassinated by don Raymond, his brother also. The king of Castile, uncle to the assassin, joyfully availing himself of the troubles which followed this murder, dismembered Biscay from Navarre; and after a variety of jealous oppositions and sanguinary conflicts, don Sancho V. succeeded in uniting Arragon to Navarre. This prince reigned with glory, about the year 1100; but having lost his children by death at an age when they were capable of rivetting his tenderest affection, he fell a prey to grief and disease, and departed this life, after governing the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon for ten years.

A. D. 1076.

Don Alonzo, his brother, who acquired the epithet of Valiant, by the splendour of his victories, gradually became one of the most powerful Christian monarchs that ever reigned in Spain. He

united the kingdoms of Navarre, Arragon, Leon, and Castile under his sway, and it is said assumed the title of emperor. He was the first who carried the arms of the Christians into the fertile plains of Andalusia; nor was he less distinguished by his valorous acts on the side of France, where he took Bayonne.

The fame of don Alonzo's gallant exploits drew to his standard the most renowned knights from every country of Europe; but obstinately persisting in the siege of Fraga, and giving battle to a much superior army of Moors, he was totally defeated with the loss of many generous foreign cavaliers, and the flower of his own nobility who lay on the field of action. The king himself, however, with some difficulty escaped to the monastery of St. Juan de la Pegna, where he is said to have died of grief, two days after. A. D. 1134.

Leaving no male issue, he bequeathed both his kingdoms to the Knights Templars, with prodigious legacies to the church; but his ministers, too wise and magnanimous to submit to such a disposition, as soon as they had recovered from the consternation into which reverses had thrown them, convened an assembly of the states, and elected don Pedro Atarez, of the house of Arragon, to be their king; but several persons of great weight and authority objecting to this appointment, as the only means to prevent a civil war, it was found expedient to elevate to the throne don Garcia Ramirez, brother to the deceased, at that time a monk, and in priest's orders. This prince was then in the flower of his age, and well qualified by nature

and cultivation to support the dignity to which he was advanced.

Scarcely, however, was he seated on the throne, before he found several competitors, or rivals, ready to dispute his title; yet, with singular address, he extricated himself out of his difficulties, partly by the lenitives of negociation, and partly by force of arms. His reign indeed was a series of great and noble actions; and after supporting and establishing the independency of his kingdom, he died in peace at Pampeluna, and was buried in the cathedral church of that capital, equally lamented by his subjects, and by the princes with whom he had formed alliances.

A. D. 1150.

About this period, the crusades was the epidemic madness both of kings and their subjects; and Thibault had scarcely taken possession of his new kingdom before he set out on an expedition to the Holy Land. To this wild scheme he was probably induced, rather in consequence of a vow made by his father, than from the suggestions of his own reason. He risqued too much in abandoning his kingdom before he could consolidate his power, to make such an undertaking desirable to any man of sense; and nothing but the blind devotion which at that time was paid to the see of Rome, could have protected his dominions during his absence, from the attacks of rivals and competitors. The papal anathemas, however, were sure to be fulminated against those who were inclined to take any advantage of a man engaged in such reputed holy enterprises; and to the dread of these, Navarre owed its tranquillity, during the crusade in which its king was engaged.

The conduct of Thibault in the Holy Land was allowed on all hands to entitle him to praise. By his prudence, he brought off a part of the infatuated thousands who had assumed the badge of the cross; and at his return, he was received with gratulation by his subjects, by whom he was afterwards sincerely beloved.

His predecessors had bounded their views of improvement by erecting fortresses, churches, and convents; but don Thibault was ambitious to introduce elegance and magnificence, as well as utility. His admirable natural genius had been cultivated by an excellent education, and travel had enlarged his views, and meliorated his heart. Attentive to the duties of his station, at the time he seemed most to neglect them, he brought with him from the east not only experience, but a number of valuable fruits which he naturalized in Navarre. These were some of the advantages which attended the crusades in other countries as well as this, and which in some measure compensated for the loss of blood and treasure that were so profusely expended by the different Christian powers.

Agriculture, in particular, found a zealous patron in Thibault, which hitherto his subjects had practised so rudely, that the soil and climate were unjustly blamed for what was in reality the effect of ignorance, or want of application. He also built some palaces which still remain no contemptible monuments of his taste; and formed by his example, the nobility began to assume a more polished character, which soon rendered Navarre the most brilliant court in Spain.

Excepting some unpleasant squabbles arising

from priestly pride and ambition, which were abetted by the see of Rome, the reign of Thibault for many years presented a peaceful picture of reciprocal duty and allegiance, on which the pen of history dwells with pleasure. A known love of justice and an established reputation for bravery prevented the king of Navarre from either giving or receiving any insult; and he reached the age of fifty, with the love of his subjects and the esteem of his neighbours. He excelled, himself, in music and poetry; was attached to the sciences, and a protector of literary men.

Thibault was thrice married, but left no male issue, except by his last consort, Margaret, daughter to the count of Foix, by whom he had three sons. On his death-bed, he recommended his family to the protection of the king of Arragon, who accepted and performed the charge with a fidelity which reflects a lustre on his name.

A. D. 1253. Thibault II. was a minor at the time of his father's death, and wishing to visit his territories in France before he fixed in Navarre, he proceeded into that country, where he ingratiated himself with all ranks, by his affable and mild deportment. St. Lewis invited him to his court, and gave him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage, with a portion of ten thousand livres; no contemptible sum in those days, trifling as it may now appear.

After a considerable stay in France, during which many important concerns were adjusted between him and his father-in-law, Thibault returned into Navarre, where he had the mortification to find that his nobles were become tur-

bulent and dissatisfied, under a pretext that their privileges had been abridged in some of the preceding reigns. The powerful mediation, however, of the pope, Urban IV. soon put an end to these jealousies and animosities; and in consequence of the death of his next brother Pedro, who had been constituted governor of Champagne, the king of Navarre again found it necessary to revisit France, when he appointed his younger and only surviving brother Henry to the same office.

About this time, St. Lewis of France having been instigated by the pope to assume the cross, he engaged in the same scheme his two sons-in-law, Thibault of Navarre and Edward prince of England. The regency of Navarre was now committed to Henry, governor of Champagne, who had just espoused Blanch, daughter of Robert count of Artois; and queen Isabel obtained the latter government in his stead.

A truce being concluded between the rival powers, which it would have been deemed a species of sacrilege to break, and immense preparations made for the supposed expulsion of the infidels from the Holy Land, the fleet and forces set sail, and in the train of Thibault went many lords of Champagne and Navarre.

The behaviour of prince Henry, during the king's absence, was firm and prudent. He avoided every occasion of embroiling the people of Navarre with their neighbours, and preferring honesty to policy, let slip some favourable opportunities of taking advantage of their necessities or misfortunes.

Though Thibault of Navarre and his attendants made no doubt, when they embarked on

their expedition, that they were destined for the Holy Land, they discovered, when it was too late to retract, that Lewis had no intention of proceeding to Syria, but to the coast of Africa, with the design of besieging Tunis. Thither don Thibault accompanied him, and was present when he died of the plague, before he could effect any one purpose of his expedition. Philip the Hardy, eldest son of Lewis, being then in the camp, wisely preferred the enjoyment of the kingdom of France to the quixotic designs in which his father had been engaged, and accordingly he returned with his armament and companions to Sicily, where the king of Navarre immediately fell sick, and departed this life.

A. D. 1270.

For sincere piety, sweetness of temper, and all the qualities that can render rank and power beloved, the character of Thibault stood very high in his own times, nor do we see the least reason to detract from it now. His queen soon followed him to the tomb, without issue.

Henry, surnamed the Gross or the Fat, who had been left regent, was proclaimed king of Navarre at Pampeluna, soon after his brother's death. He was a prince of great dignity, and supported the ills of life with a fortitude that did him honour. His only son was killed by a fall from his nurse's arms, and fearing lest his family should be set aside, in case of his early demise, he procured the states to acknowledge his daughter Donna Joanna, an infant of two years old, to be heiress of the crown. Not long after, he is said to have entered into a treaty with Edward I. of England, to give this princess, when she should arrive at marriageable

age, to one of his sons; but be that as it may, Henry did not live to see any of his expectations realized. Most writers agree that he was choaked with fat; when he left his daughter sole heiress to his dominions, under the tutelage of her mother Blanch of Artois. A. D. 1274.

Scarcely was Donna Joanna three years old when she became a queen; and her mother, sensible of the critical situation in which she stood, assembled the states of the kingdom in order to make choice of a proper person to assist her in the administration of affairs, when don Pedro Sanchez Montagu was appointed to this office. It was not long, however, before a party was formed against don Pedro; and the kings of Castile and Arragon, who had both views of obtaining the young princess in marriage, being applied to on both sides, the queen-mother, in order to secure her own safety and that of her daughter, fled with her into France, where they were received with all the respect due to their dignity and distress.

At this juncture, don Alonso, surnamed the Wise, governed Castile, and that he might force a marriage which he had much at heart, between the young queen of Navarre and one of his grandsons, he marched into Navarre; but finding its frontiers well guarded, he made little impression, and at last was obliged to retire. Meanwhile, the states of Navarre, with don Pedro at their head, inclined to the claims of the king of Arragon, who affected more moderation, and was willing to obtain by good will what the king of Castile attempted by fraud or force.

No sooner, however, were the queen of Navarre

and her mother taken under the protection of Philip of France, than that monarch projected a match between the former and his second son Philip, who in the sequel became his heir; and thus all the estates and dominions of the queen both in France and Navarre became annexed to the French monarchy.

Matters being thus settled, Eustace de Beaumarchais, seneschal of Thoulouse, was appointed viceroy of Navarre, and sent with a considerable army to take possession of that country. He speedily overran a great extent of the kingdom, and obtained possession of part of the city of Pampaluna, while don Garcia Almoravides held the other with his faction, in favour of Castile. Don Pedro, indignant at being superseded, commanded a body of troops without; and patching up an agreement with don Garcia, drove the French viceroy and his army into the castle, where they were besieged.

News of this transaction arriving in France, the king's uncle, Robert count of Artois, was dispatched with an army to the relief of the regent; and owing to the jealousy of his opponents, rather than his power or skill, succeeded in carrying his point. The city of Pampeluna flowed with the blood of its inhabitants; and the French, who had been the occasion of the most horrible massacres, gained a considerable degree of credit, by checking the fury of their troops, and saving a remnant from extermination.

The count of Artois having secured the capital, followed up the blow, and speedily secured the whole kingdom, except a few frontier towns which had been put into the hands either of the

Castilians or Arragonese, by their respective partisans.

The affairs of Navarre being at length composed, according to the wishes of the French court, Eustace Beaumarchais was left in the command of the army, as well as in the direction of civil affairs. This nobleman acquitted himself so well, that he gradually reconciled the natives to his government and to an alliance with France, which at first they had regarded as the most signal of misfortunes.

Donna Joanna, queen of Navarre, having now entered her fifteenth year, a marriage between her and prince Philip, afterwards surnamed le Bel, or the Fair, was solemnized, much to the satisfaction of all parties; and this proved the first conjunction of Navarre with the kingdom of France, to which it now stands united. A. D. 1284.

The disputes between Philip the Hardy and Alonso the Wise, king of Castile, frequently brought both kings into the field; but without either friendship or reconciliation, a truce was generally patched up, which lasted only till an opportunity presented itself to either party of violating it to advantage. Still, however, there might be said to be peace and amity between the two nations, compared to that bloody war which existed between France and Arragon on account of the Sicilian vespers.

Philip, now of Navarre, attended his father in his expedition into Catalonia, when he made himself master of Geronne, a conquest equally fatal to both kings; for don Pedro of Arragon fell a martyr to the fatigue he had undergone, and Philip the Hardy expired of a disease at Perpignan,

chiefly brought upon him from the same cause. These wars, however, were extremely beneficial to Navarre, whose viceroys were left at liberty to pursue their plans of improvement, and to draw advantage from the misfortunes of the neighbouring kingdoms.

Philip the Fair carried on the war against Arragon with vigour, but temporised with Castile, till some intestine feuds arising in that country, the viceroy of Navarre was instructed to demand a surrender of all the towns and fortresses of which his government had been despoiled at an early period of its history. This being complied with, don Alonso de la Cerda was acknowledged king of Castile; who availing himself of the perplexities of Philip, refused to carry the stipulations into execution. Meanwhile Donna Joanna died in the thirty-fourth year of her age, leaving Lewis, Charles, and Philip, successively kings of France, and Isabella, married to Edward II. of England, in whose right Edward III. her son, claimed the French crown. The most memorable action of her life was building the college of Navarre at Paris, which she liberally endowed.

A. D. 1305.

On the demise of his mother, Lewis Hutin, that is the Quarrelsome, assumed the title of king of Navarre, being then fifteen years old. The states of that kingdom immediately sent a respectful deputation to the court of France, to request that their young king might be sent into his own dominions; but though the invitation appeared proper and reasonable, it was two years before it was complied with. He carried with him into Navarre, where he was solemnly

crowned, a considerable number of young noblemen and gentlemen, for whom he provided, and thus strengthened the French interest in that country. A. D. 1307.

Lewis protected his kingdom from all aggression, but appears to have been little esteemed. His queen being found guilty of adultery, was imprisoned, and afterwards strangled; and himself, after a short and troublesome reign over France, as well as Navarre, died at the castle of Vincennes, as it is said, of poison. A. D. 1316.

By his first queen he left a daughter, named Donna Joanna, who, as no salic law stood in opposition to her claims, appears to have had a legitimate title to be queen of Navarre; but both Philip the Long and Charles the Fair, her uncles, assumed the power in prejudice to their niece, who espoused Philip count of Evereux.

On the death of king Charles, however, the states of Navarre, taking advantage of the confusion which pervaded the kingdom of France, from the disputed claims for empire, solemnly declared Donna Joanna II. their queen, and appointed regents to govern in her name. They next sent to invite their sovereign queen and her consort to Pampeluna, where they were received with all possible demonstrations of joy and respect. A. D. 1328.

When these felicitations and transports, however, were a little subsided, the states, after prefacing their object by a detail of the irregularities which had crept into the constitution of the kingdom of Navarre, from the long absence of their sovereigns, presented a bill of rights which they requested the king and queen to swear to

the observance of before their inauguration. This being graciously acceded to, they were solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Pampeluna, with the loud acclamations of their faithful subjects.

A. D. 1329.

Soon after, Philip III. king of Navarre, being invited to accompany his brother-in-law, of France, to the wars in Flanders, left his queen at Pampeluna; and having signalized his bravery, particularly at the famous battle of Cassel, he returned into his own dominions; where he speedily discovered that from the overgrown power of Alonso of Castile, it was absolutely necessary to be on his guard. Meanwhile, till his kingdom could be put into a due state either of defence or annoyance, he judged it most prudent to temporize; and after a friendly explanation, all matters in dispute were amicably adjusted, and a peace concluded between the two rival powers.

It was not long after this transaction, that the king and queen of Navarre paid a visit to their native country, France, leaving Henry de Solis as viceroy in their absence. This person, to an inordinate ambition joined a turbulent spirit, and leaguing with Arragon, made an unprovoked incursion into the territories of Castile, where his temerity and indiscretion alone operated his defeat. The court of France at this period, being agitated and distressed by the wars with England, was unwilling to sanction the aggression, lest it should have too much business on its hands; and therefore interposing its good offices, a new viceroy was sent to Navarre, and a treaty was concluded on honourable terms between that country and Castile.

Don Pedro, now seated on the throne of Arragon, consummated the marriage which had been concluded some years before with the infanta Maria of Navarre; and Philip III. together with his queen, soon after returned into their own dominions, where their presence was become very necessary. Soon after their arrival, the news of the siege of Algezira, by Alonso of Castile, against the Moors, excited the interest of all Christendom; and Philip, eager to shew his zeal against the infidels, attended by a chosen body of troops, marched to the scene of action, and was received in the camp of Alonso with distinguished honours. His conduct and valour on this occasion are highly extolled; but being seized with a malignant fever, he paid the debt of nature before he could return to his capital and family, to the sincere sorrow of his people. A. D. 1343.

Donna Joanna governed the kingdom of Navarre after her husband's death, with equal dignity and discretion. She made choice of the wisest and most upright of her subjects for her counsellors; and by their advice, regulated her own conduct. The king of France entertained such a regard for her, that he intended to give his son in marriage to her daughter Blanch; but when the young princess, attended by her mother, appeared in the French court, the aged monarch was so struck with the beauty of the former, that he married her himself.

The queen of Navarre did not long enjoy the honour of this great alliance: she died a few months after, in the twenty-third year of her reign, and was buried in the monastery of St. Denis. She left a numerous progeny.

Charles the Wicked, at that time eighteen years of age, and one of the most accomplished persons of his time, succeeded his mother. He was courteous, well-bred, eloquent, and easy in his address, and, without losing his dignity, possessed the happy art of conciliating popular regard; but after he ascended the throne, those good qualities were so disgraced by their opposite vices, that he became an object of detestation.

Not long after his accession, a rebellion broke out, which Charles having speedily suppressed, punished the revolters with such severity, as gave his people a very unfavourable impression of a reign, the first passage of which was marked with blood. The king, however, shewed the most sovereign contempt of public opinion, and acted only from the impulse of his own passions.

Sensible that it would contribute to his interest, or security, to have a personal acquaintance with the princes, his neighbours, he paid a visit to Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, and afterwards had an interview with the king of Arragon, both of whom he cajoled with fair professions. Soon after, he went to the court of France, where he urged some obsolete claims with such spirit, that the king was glad to soothe and soften him by offering him the princess Joanna, his sister, in marriage. Charles accepted the proposal; but scarcely were his nuptials celebrated before he set up new demands, part of which, the necessity of his affairs obliged the king of France to comply with; though Charles had not only been guilty of rebellion, but also of murder in his dominions.

A forced reconciliation at last took place, through the good offices of the two dowagers of France, when Charles, after some other base intrigues against the peace of France, withdrew to Navarre, waiting for a proper opportunity of wrecking his vengeance against his brother-in-law and benefactor.

It is painful to pursue this unprincipled character through all the labyrinths of deceit. By his pestilent eloquence, he seduced the dauphin, then eighteen years of age, from his duty, persuading him that he was extremely ill used in not having a government assigned him. A sense of duty and filial affection, however, soon brought the dauphin to a juster way of thinking; and, in order to atone for his offence, and to punish the author of it, he contrived to deliver up Charles of Navarre to his father's indignation. His plans, however, were so well concerted and so deeply laid, that though detained as a prisoner, he enjoyed more comfort than John, whom next year, the fate of war threw into the hands of the English at Poictiers.

This event spread confusion and dismay over all France, and Charles availing himself of the attachment of a few faithful friends, contrived an escape to Amiens, from whence he was soon invited to Paris by the dauphin, who had assumed the government of the kingdom, and hoped to have strengthened his authority by the support of the king of Navarre. In this expectation he was grossly deceived; for Charles had not been long at Paris before he made a public and pathetic harangue to the people, in which he endeavoured to recommend himself to their attention as governor,

and to supplant the dauphin. The young prince, in consequence, was compelled to comply with the very extravagant and insolent demands of this profligate and insidious man; who having gained his point, proceeded to Rouen, where uniting with the English, he formed the design of carrying Paris by force. In the sequel, however, Charles and the dauphin were again reconciled, and the former returning to his hereditary kingdom of Navarre, soon after had another interview with Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, which produced a war between them and the king of Arragon. Charles, however, who was restrained by no sense of honour, studied only to make a dupe of both; and on advantageous overtures being made to him by Pedro of Arragon, he deserted his former ally, and even commenced hostilities against him.

John, king of France, dying a prisoner in England, and his son Charles being seated on the throne, the king of Navarre, notwithstanding the enlarged views of aggrandizement which he had formed nearer home, thought this too favourable an opportunity to be neglected, of extorting something from the weakness of a new government, hastened to send troops into Normandy; but their general being defeated and taken prisoner, Charles of Navarre was glad to listen to terms of accommodation, and a peace
A. D. 1365. was concluded between the two powers.

But tranquillity did not suit the genius or disposition of this prince. He soon entered into contrary engagements with the kings of Castile and Arragon, with a view of reaping advantage

from each; but in this his duplicity deceived him. In a word, the history of the manœuvres of Charles the Wicked savour of romance, though impartially related; and as he took part in all the great events of the time in which he lived, it would fill a volume to record all his transactions.

At last becoming miserably infirm, in consequence of a debauched life, he retired from public view, and bent all his thoughts to prepare for eternity; for notwithstanding his vices, which were too prominent to be disguised, he affected to be thought religious, in order to impose on the world. While in this melancholy state, a sedition was raised in Pampeluna, under the pretext that the city was ill supplied with corn, and that the revenue was mismanaged; but feeble and reduced as the king was, he exerted himself with his wonted spirit to suppress the tumult, and having got some of the ringleaders into his hands, he inflicted capital punishment upon them. This was the last effort of his authority; for soon after he resigned his breath, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his reign. A. D. 1386.

His son, Charles the Noble, at his accession, was twenty-five years old. At the time of his father's demise, he was in Castile with his consort, on a visit to his brother-in-law don Juan, king of that country, who before they parted, as a token of his affection, remitted a large sum of money which both his predecessor and himself had stipulated to pay to him. A. D. 1387.

His queen, of the house of Castile, bore him

a son, who received his father's name; a circumstance which proved highly grateful to the people of Navarre.

Charles being desirous of settling his claims in France, and being invited thither by the princes of the blood, resolved to undertake a journey into that kingdom. He made his will, and constituted the queen regent, in case any fatal accident should befal him. On his arrival in Paris, he found public affairs in the greatest distraction, and that a war with England was inevitable. This dismal prospect induced him to use all his interest to conclude a treaty without loss of time; and by the agreement then entered into, he relinquished all pretensions to Champagne, Brie, and Evereux, as also to all the places which his ancestors had held in Normandy, in consideration of receiving the town and district of Nemours, together with an annual pension of 12,000 livres, and the farther sum of 200,000 crowns, by way of indemnification for the revenues of which he had been deprived. This was but a poor compensation for the sacrifices he had made, but circumstances justified the prudence of the measure. At length, having essentially contributed to restore the public peace, and having concluded a marriage between his third daughter and the count de la Marche, one of the most accomplished men of his age, he returned to his own dominions, whose interests he continued to consult, by sound judgment and active exertions. His subjects had always been divided into factions, which had often brought the country to the verge of ruin: former monarchs had seen and lamented this, and yet dared not attempt the

removal of the evil; but, in consequence of the credit which Charles the Noble had justly acquired with all ranks, he was able to accomplish without a struggle, what his predecessors had shrunk from in despair. He gave his people a new constitution, equally favourable to them all; and took away the very occasion for party differences and distinctions.

The long peace he had procured to Navarre, amidst so many discordant interests, and his many amiable qualities, made Charles an object of veneration to his people, and of respect to strangers. One great and singular instance of the excellence of his temper was the harmony in which he lived with his queen Leonora to the day of her death, notwithstanding her former undutiful conduct. When she died, both her husband and the nation shewed the sincerest grief; and though she left no surviving son, the king was so well satisfied about the security of the succession, that he never thought of a second marriage. A. D. 1415.

He disposed of his eldest daughter in marriage to the infant don Juan of Arragon, and stipulated that in case her husband survived her, he should enjoy the crown during his life; and accordingly their nuptials took place at Olita, to the entire satisfaction of the respective courts of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre. In due time the princess was brought to bed of a son, named Charles, or Carlos, in honour of his grandfather, who, as soon as he was weaned, sent for him to court, and with great solemnity declared him prince of Viana, and heir to the crown of Navarre. A. D. 1419.

Having thus provided for the security of the

succession, and lived long enough to perform a dignified and an honourable part on the great stage of life, when his grandson was about five years of age, he was seized with a fainting fit, in his palace of Olita, and soon after with an apoplexy, which instantly removed him from this life. He died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign, and by his own direction was interred by the side of his deceased queen Leonora.

A. D. 1425.

Donna Blanch, his daughter, happened to be with her father when he expired, and after three days mourning, sent the royal standard of Navarre to the camp of the king of Arragon, when it was displayed for the infant don Juan, her husband.

The nobility and clergy took this action very ill. They disliked to see the royal standard sent out of the kingdom, and more particularly to become subject to a foreign master, before he had engaged to maintain their liberties. Blanch quickly penetrated into the reasons of their discontent, and advised her husband to hasten his journey to Navarre. This he did; but so little was he prejudiced in favour of the people, and so little pains did he take to attach them to him, that it was four years after his accession before he went through the coronation ceremony, which took place at Pampeluna as usual; and, according to a custom which had prevailed from the time of the Goths, the king and queen, on this occasion, were exposed to the view of their subjects, each seated on a buckler, and supported by the deputies from the principal towns of their dominions.

A. D. 1429.

A war breaking out soon after with Castile, the king of that country made irruptions into Navarre, and committed the most terrible devastations. Indeed the conventions and treaties which from time to time had been made between the princes of Arragon and don Juan of Castile, subsisted no longer than interest or passion directed; and the truce which now took place was no better observed than the preceding ones had been.

In the year 1435, a desire of aggrandizing his family induced the king of Navarre to accompany his brother into Italy, where he was taken prisoner in an engagement at sea, to the great grief of his queen and the confusion of his subjects. He was released, however, in a few months, and returning into Spain, exhausted the treasure both of Navarre and Arragon by his wild and ambitious projects. The hopes of his subjects in the former kingdom rested on his son, don Carlos, prince of Viana; and to gratify them in this respect at least, he negociated and concluded a marriage for him with the princess Anne of Cleves, niece to the duke of Burgundy.

About the same time his eldest daughter was espoused to the prince of Asturias, who proving impotent, laid the foundation of much shame and misery.

Not long after the queen of Navarre died of a broken heart, occasioned by grief for what she saw, as well as by an anticipation of ills likely to ensue. She left all to her son, don Carlos, then of age; but expressly commanded him not to assume the title of king, without his father's consent.

After the death of his mother, the prince of Viana, one of the most accomplished persons of his age, was permitted to administer the affairs of Navarre, but his father still retained the rank he had formerly enjoyed. The young prince, however, disapproved of his father's conduct on various occasions, and an enmity ill concealed, or an open opposition for some time subsisted between them. The native goodness of the prince of Viana prevented him from taking any advantage of the king's imprudencies or injustice, as long as it was possible to temporize; but a rupture at last taking place between them, brought on by the violence of their respective adherents, a battle was fought in which the king's life was in the utmost danger, but towards its close the prince was taken prisoner. While in confinement he refused to take any sustenance, except from the hands of a natural brother, named don Alonso, fearing lest poison should be mixed with his food or drink; and the great precaution which the king took to secure his person heightened those suspicions, and increased the jealousy of his subjects.

The states of Navarre were open partisans of the prince, and his uncle the king of Arragon warmly interposed in his behalf. At length a treaty was concluded: the heir apparent was to be restored to liberty, and the revenues of the kingdom divided between him and his father; but notwithstanding this arrangement, it was found impossible to restore cordiality between them, and the flame of discord, which had only been smothered, soon burst forth with more violence than ever. The prince, don Carlos, relied on the affections of the people, who

A. D. 1453.

were in reality much attached to him; on the other hand, the king, don Juan, piqued himself on his experience and military skill, and his ability in managing political intrigues, in which, indeed, he was ably assisted by his queen, the stepmother and inveterate enemy of the prince.

A civil war in consequence of these dispositions broke out a second time in Navarre, in which the king prevailed, and the prince was obliged to fly for security to France, and afterwards to Italy. After various turns of fortune, a feigned reconciliation again took place; but the prince of Viana died soon after in the forty-first year of his age; and, by his last will, A. D. 1461. called to the succession, his sister donna Blanch, to whom indeed the crown of right belonged.

The death of the prince was far from composing the disturbances which had been raised on his account. Navarre was depopulated and destroyed on all sides; and don Juan, who had received the crown in its greatest lustre, was execrated as the cause of all the misfortunes which afflicted that devoted country. At length, having lost his queen, who had been the instigator of many of his follies and his crimes, and being embarrassed on all sides, he resolved to deliver up the unfortunate Blanch, his eldest daughter, into the power of her younger sister, Leonora, married to the count of Foix; and, under pretence of marrying her to Charles duke of Berry, carried her over the Pyrenees. In the sequel, the wretched princess was thrown into prison and closely confined, from whence she was liberated only by death. She was taken off by poison at the instigation of the count-

A. D. 1464. ess of Foix, whose husband immediately laid claim to the kingdom of Navarre, but the king soon obliged him to listen to an accommodation.

Don Gaston de Foix, son to the count of that name, was killed in a tournament the same year, leaving behind him a son, Francis Phœbus, and a daughter named Catherine. The count his father died about three years after, and this so disconcerted his consort donna Leonora, that, although ambitious and high spirited, she suspended her intrigues for the recovery of Navarre during a whole year.

A. D. 1479. While matters were in this situation, her father, worn out with years and infirmities, breathed his last at Barcelona, so poor, after all the bustle he had made in the world, that the furniture of his palace was obliged to be sold, in order to defray the expences of his funeral.

Immediately on receiving certain intelligence of her father's death, the countess of Foix caused herself to be proclaimed queen of Navarre; but so much were her health and spirits wasted by chagrin and expectation, that she died on the

A. D. 1479. twenty-second day after: having recommended the care of her family to her husband's relations;—that was, in effect, to the court of France, without deigning to make mention of her brother Ferdinand of Arragon.

Francis Phœbus, count of Foix, and grandson to the deceased, was, without hesitation, recognized king of Navarre. He had just entered into his twelfth year, and both in person and

mind gave promise of being a most accomplished prince. But notwithstanding his high connections, and the partiality of the people, the two factions of Beaumont and Gramont, which had long agitated and divided Navarre, left him no more than the name of king. At length, however, some of his relations interposing their good offices, the states requested the presence of Francis among them, who, arriving powerfully supported, was received with the universal acclamation of his subjects, and solemnly crowned at Pampeluna. A. D. 1481.

After the ceremony of his inauguration was performed, the king set out with a numerous and respectable attendance to visit and take possession of the different parts of his kingdom. In his progress, he shewed a wisdom and prudence beyond his years, which made those who were about his person, regard him as a person sent from heaven for their welfare. But though Francis displayed abilities which qualified him to act for himself, his filial affection, or his modesty, taught him to consider his mother, Magdalen, princess of Viana, as his guide and directress in all things; and accordingly all grants were made out in her name.

This bright scene, however, was of short duration. The young monarch was vigilantly regarded by two of the most subtle monarchs in the world, Lewis XI. of France and Ferdinand the Catholic. It was proposed by each that he should match into his family. Family attachment and inclination led his mother, with a blind devotion, to favour the interests of France; policy would have taught her, that the happiness of her son was most likely to be promoted

by adhering to Arragon. The principal nobility of Navarre, and more especially the count de Lerin, whom it was found necessary to continue in the office of constable, urged a matrimonial connection with donna Joanna, heiress to the dominions of Arragon; and the mother of the young king, not willing to comply, adopted the rash expedient of carrying him and his sister to Bearn. Returning, however, to Pau, the king began to decline, and on the thirtieth of January breathed his last, and was buried in the cathedral of Lescar.

A. D. 1483.

Upon the decease of her brother, donna Catherine de Foix was immediately declared queen of Navarre; but the perplexities which had attended a proposed marriage contract with the late king, were now tenfold increased. An ambassador arrived from his Catholic majesty, to press the marriage of the young queen with the infant don Juan; but the princess Magdalen, her mother, determining to sacrifice the interests of her daughter, as she had formerly of her son, to a predilection for France, accepted a husband for her, recommended by that court, in the person of Jean d'Albert, son of the count of Perigord and Limoges. Their nuptials were solemnized at Orthes, notwithstanding the most violent opposition to the measure from many of the leading men of Navarre.

A. D. 1484.

The lord of Abenas, uncle to the new married prince, was declared viceroy of Navarre, and, in conjunction with the faction of the Gramonts, governed that part of the country which acknowledged the queen's authority, with much

prudence and moderation. A considerable portion of Navarre, however, obeyed the count de Lerin, under the protection of their catholic majesties, who justified their interference from political motives; alledging that Navarre was the gate of Spain, and that in common prudence they ought to keep it shut against the French.

It was not long indeed before the young king and queen found themselves under the necessity of seeking the friendship of don Ferdinand the Catholic. Their affairs on both sides the Pyrenees, and during the minority of Charles VIII. the little disposition which government shewed to serve them, left them no other alternative. Ferdinand received their applications with civility, and a short time after ordered his general to restore all the places which he had taken in Navarre, and at the same time declared that kingdom under his protection.

So far matters had proceeded favourably; but though the kingdom of Navarre was for the present secured from hostile aggression, it was still torn by domestic feuds. In order to suppress them, the states invited their sovereigns to come and reside among them, and accordingly they were crowned king and queen of Navarre with great pomp, and an appearance of much cordiality. Not long after they renewed their alliance with the king of Castile; and Ferdinand of Arragon, on the other hand, seemed to evince the utmost zeal in their cause. A. D. 1494.

The impolitic conduct of John d'Albert in urging claims which he could not support, and then feeling indignant because he was refused,

A. D. 1512. and entering into views hostile to Ferdinand, at last roused that monarch to opposition, and in the space of a few days, Pampeluna and several other strong places opened their gates to the victor; while the king and queen were forced to fly.

John d'Albert, supported by the French interest, made several ineffectual attempts to recover his dominions: he protested and exclaimed against the injustice done him, but he made little impression either on friends or foes. His behaviour is said to have merited the following severe reproach of his wife. "Had I been John and you Catherine, we should have remained king and queen of Navarre!" Ferdinand, indeed, left them in possession of Lower Navarre, beyond the Pyrenees towards France, but he annexed the rest of the kingdom to Castile, and by the authority of the states declared them for ever indivisible.

After the death of don Ferdinand, who was certainly guilty of flagrant usurpation and injustice in regard to the king of Navarre, that unfortunate prince made another attempt to recover his dominions; but being defeated, and some of his principal adherents taken prisoners, he was so much affected that he died of chagrin soon after, and in a few months his queen followed him to the grave. Both directed that their bodies should be deposited in the cathedral of Lescar, in order to be removed to Pampeluna, when it should be recovered by their posterity, to whom, notwithstanding all their misfortunes, they left a considerable patrimony, composed of estates belonging to the two ancient families of Foix and

A. D. 1516.

Albert; besides some portions of Navarre which they were allowed to occupy.

They had in all fourteen children, of whom only four lived to make any figure in life. Henry, their eldest son, was about fourteen years old at the time of his mother's death. He immediately assumed the title of king of Navarre, under the protection of Francis I. of France; but though several attempts were made to recover his hereditary dominions, they all proved abortive, from the superior power and address of Charles V.

Henry II. of Navarre, as he is commonly stiled by historians, was taken prisoner together with his patron Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, but contrived means to escape from his enemies. He married the princess Margaret, only sister of the king of France, by whom he had Joanna espoused in his life-time to Anthony Bourbon, duke of Vendosme.

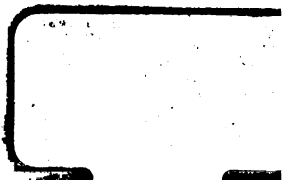
Henry, by fortifying and enriching his small state, shewed what he was capable of performing, had Providence granted him a wider range of action. No efforts of the emperor Charles could obtain from him a resignation of his title to Navarre; and it must be allowed, that he deserved to have been more than a nominal king. He died at Pau, in Bearn, aged fifty-three, and was succeeded by his daughter, the duchess of Vendosme, who with her husband assumed the titles of king and queen of Navarre.

Both were admired and esteemed for their great and good qualities: the king was mild but brave, and the queen is no less celebrated for her masculine understanding than for her zealous attachment to the Protestant religion. The king being wounded at the siege of Rouen, died soon after, in the

A. D. 1562. forty-fifth year of his age; and his consort, who survived him ten years, is generally thought to have been taken off by the artifice of the queen-mother of France, Mary de Medicis, at the celebration of the nuptials of her son. She was in all respects an extraordinary woman; but blended with numerous good qualities, she had the defect of being insupportably haughty. Two children alone were alive at the time of her death, Henry and Catherine. The latter became duchess of Lorrain, and continued a zealous Protestant to the last.

Henry the Third, of Navarre, was born at Pau, on the 13th of December, 1553. During the lifetime of his mother, he was stiled prince of Bearn. He espoused the princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX. and Henry III. successively kings of France; and by the demise of the duke of Anjou, he became presumptive heir to the crown of France, to which he succeeded on the murder of the last mentioned prince, August 2, 1589, and thereby united, what still remained of the kingdom of Navarre, to the French monarchy.

From this period, the history of Navarre is inseparably connected with those of France and Spain. It should be observed, however, that the people of Navarre long preserved their laws and liberties entire, and that their sovereigns were satisfied to govern them according to ancient customs and institutions.

THE END OF VOL. XXIII. OR VOL. XIV. OF THE MODERN HISTORY.

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